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UNDER ALL

REVOLUTIONS

a trifling book

IN

An Eminent INSTANCE

From 1639. to 1661.

by David Lloyd.

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TO THE

Most Illustrious JAMES DUKE of *YORK*.

May it please your Highness,

SPeculation is the *life* of a Schollar, and action is the *life* of a Prince.

It sufficeth the *one* to *meditate* upon the great things which former ages have *done*, while the *other* doth great things, which future ages may *meditate* upon: the one [b] rests when he hath [c] raised a scheme, a frame, an

Arist. Pol. 6. 2. Aquin. eth 1. 2. suarez et Burid. ibid Rev. D. Priep. ded. cosmogr.

(b) *Mentes sapientiores sunt qui escendo.* Plat. ἡ γνῶσις ἀρκμία vid Rev. d Reyn Passione: ex Arist. et aliis, &c.

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an [d] Idea within himselfe proportionable in all things to the [e] order, and method of beings *without him*; while the other having *understood this* [f] *all* is urged by his eager virtues to performe things as great as those he *understood*; and actions as great as his thoughts.

There is [g] no tongue, nor language, but hath heard that you are as eminent for your action as for your birth; That you are a Prince in *both*, in *both your selfe* is as well known as your *name*.

I need not informe you (great Sir) that all great actions in any way are guided by a [h] wisedom from above, first pure then peaceable, according to the principles and maximes of that way, together with the conclusions rationally, deducible from those principles to their peculiar ends by a discreet application of proper meanes; for it was your

(c) Bacon de Augment. scient. descartes medit. 7. Digby Immortality soul 7.
(d) De Idea in Deo vid. Grot. Christ. relig. 1. Annot. ex Anaxag. &c.
(e) He hath made all things in number and measure Syr. τῶν ὄντων τίμη Synes beautifull in his time, Ecl. 3. 11.
(f) vid Dickens. Delph. Phæn. de Pane. τὸ πον Scalig. exercit. 6. c. 7. Salm. Tertull. de Palleo. 2 Plat. de 21.
(g) Norunt Garamantes et Indj &c. I have heard Turks, Jews, speak honorably of you

your selfe that mannaged the great affaires of *France* and *Spaine* with a wisedome as * distant from the sudden *rashnesse* of the one, as from the solemne *slownesse* of the other; bare action the priviledge of lower beings, valour the glory of those more noble, or honour becoming your selfe sufficed you not, withour a wisedome guiding all these above your selfe and yeares; Therefore when I entertained thoughts of drawing a rude draught of these great actions, and counsels that I look upon as the best patternes of *Modern Policy*, I mean these of this honourable Person, who discovered most of a Politicians *virtues*, without any of its *vices*; that could be *wise* as a Serpent, and yet *innocent* as a Dove; I immediately resolved to *dedicate* it to your selfe; *wisdom is justified of its children*, the Diamond only can cut Diamond, *the wise*

(h) Arist eth 6. 7 ἐπιστήμη τῶν καθεκαστα. Mel. 2. 2. *Nulla quæ natura impedita sunt consilio expediuntur*: Liv. see Reyn: en Hos. 14. v. 9. Ser. 7.
* *Medio tutissimus ibij*, see Duke of Rhoan, Interest of States and Kingdomes.

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wise onely understand the wise; when I presume to make your *Highnesse* the *Patron* of this *Modern Policy*, I intimate you ought to be the subject of another, which some [i] soule might attempt with a Pen as Heroick as your sword; writing your life, with as much Majesty as you lived it with.

[k] When envy suppressed the worth and malice blasted the innocence of our dread Soveraign with those calumnies (that were never licenced but in the age when Men spoke whatever they thought fit, there being no King in *Israel*;) I humbly desire your Mediation for a pardon to my inconsiderable selfe, who was then past all fear of loss [l] durst vindicate injured *truth* and *Majesty* advancing them above interest, prejudice, & malice, by a course I thought most *conscientious* as a Christian, and most *generous* as a Man; my highest

(i) *Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori*: Horat. k. Ἐ[illegible] Βασιλικὴ. Or a Pourtraicture of his sacred Majesty CHARLES the second, with his two illustrious Brothers the Duke of Yorke and Gloucester. Sold by H M at the Princes Armes in the lower end of Chancery lane.

(l) *Amorem asseruit Plato* παντὸς ὑποχειρέτην. Cæl. Rhodig. 16. 15.

highest designe was to *establish* his sacred Majesty in the hearts of his people, which was all *poor I* could doe towards his establishment in his Throne.

Now envy, malice, and ignorance dares abuse that renowned Person, whom the King hath desired to honour, to whom we owe even your very selfe, I could not but doe his Majesty, the Nation, and Himselfe right in justifying his honourable actions, which I doe sufficiently when I *repeate* them; I must confesse I am sorry that former powers allowed me that leasure I had to vindicate the best Majesty; but now his Majesty *is come again to his own House in peace*; I am contented to be at leasure to doe justice to the best *Loyalty*.

|| *Vespasian* one like your selfe, the *darling of Mankind*, as he *dismissed none sad from him*; so he professed

|| Diou. Hal. 2. see Suet. in Tit. Vesp. Leighes Cæsars: Mallel: M. S S. Bib. Bodl.

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παρέχειν ἀκλείφους θυράς σοφοις that his Doores were alwayes open for Schollars: But to his favourite *Appollonius* desiring accesse for *Dion* and *Euphrates*, he said σοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀνεῴχθας δυκεῖ τὰ ἐμὰ but to you my very breast is open, a poor Schollar despaires not of a gracious admission to your royall presence, while he is confident you will give *his grace* the Duke of *Aumarle* admission to your very heart: But alas! Its high time to leave your Highnesse full of thoughts to advance the *honour* and good, and to improve the virtue and valour of your dread Soveraigne and gracious Brothers Dominions; and to retire with my best affections, devoutest prayers, & my *honest* endeavours into the croud ——— of your Admirers, and Servants,

David Lloyd.

Modern Policy,

The Second Part.

GOD (*as great soules observe*) hath equally suffered by the *too much worship* the superstition of the World that was *drowned flattered* him with; and by the too *little* which the *Atheisme* of that World which shall be *burned slandered* him with. *The occasion.*

Good men (saith *Vossius*) are equally injured with the *honour* the fabulous age bestowed upon them by Legends, as with that the sullen & silent age denyed them; while the one raised their worth to that heighth that it cannot be *beleived*; the other keepes it so low that it cannot be

 known;

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known; The good Apoſtle is abuſed as much when the *Barbarians* cry he is a God as when they ſay he is a Malefactor: when he was *worſhipped* at *Lyſtra*, as when he was *ſtoned* there; His Excellency the Lord Generall *Moncke* ſuffereth equally by the Courtiers ſmooth Panegyricks, as by the ignorants dull ſilence, or the envious his malignant calumny, while his renowned actions are made the iſſues of looſe fancies roving at uncertain worth, rather then the iſſues of his great virtues; and after ages ſhall know rather how happy *Poets* they are, then how great or how good a Man he was.

§ 2 It will be therefore but a reaſonable ſervice equally due to his Excellency and to the World; to do his publick performances ſo much right as to expreſſe them with the ſame integrity they were accompliſhed with; and to expoſe them in their own naked *Grandeur* and *plain ſtate* more *ſolemne* with the *ſolid* and *great* then *ſplendid* with the *gaudy* & *vain*; the higheſt honour that can be done to great and ſolid worth is faithfully to repeat it, the greateſt *elogy* that wit can grave upon it is it ſelfe.

§ 3 The

§ 3 The right honourable Sir *George Monck* Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, Lord Generall of all the Forces in his Majeſties dominions of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; Maſter of the Horſe; and one of his Majeſties moſt Honourable PrivyCouncell; being borne a Gentleman of the poſterity of ancient Nobility, and former Majeſty, (as that happy Pen may eaſily evince, which may hereafter in an Hiſtory due to this renowned Hero's life, conſecrate to eternity Him and it ſelfe) and educated as honourably as he was borne; 1. under ſuch a diſcipline that moulded his tender ſoule to that frame that was not onely advantagious towards the ſucceeding parts of his education, but towards the Regularity of his whole Life: 2. Under that erudition that ſucceſſively inſtilled ingenuous and good rudiments into his tender breaſt, in the order that was proper to his tender years, *Age* at once *maturing* his parts, enlarging his capacity, and advancing his lectures, untill ſome years education, had accompliſhed his mind with that ſtock of active, uſefull, and manly knowledge, that *furniſhed* him with thoſe *Birth and Education.*

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vertues that are a perfection to noble natures, and a reſt and tranquility to great minds, 1. *bridled* and checked the irregular ſallies of the inferiour faculties, and the impetuous paſſions incident to thoſe years, 2. faſhioned his behaviour to that humanity, that gentleneſs that was due to Mankind, and that modeſty and gravity, as was due to himſelfe, 3. *regulated* his diſcourſe to that temper that became the product of judgement and right reaſon, and raiſed him to thoughts of imployment worthy and ingenuous, abhorring to buſie himſelfe vitiouſly, or impertinently.

§ 4 In a word; when education had made him a compleat Man, he bethought himſelfe that he was *borne to Labour* as naturally as the ſparkes are made to flye upwards, being endued with that ἀεὶ κίνητον as *Jamblichus* calls it, that ever moving and reſtleſſe principle his ſoul, and truſted with thoſe abilities that ſuggeſted to him that he was not ſo far neglected by God or Nature, as to be placed in the World without imployment.

Employment. § 5 He found that if he looked up to Heaven, that was alwayes in its courſe with its ſeverall glories, rejoycing to run their race; if he aſcended above humanity, and aſſumed the nature of Angells, imployment would purſue him thither, and overtake him; for they ſtand alwayes before God to know *and do his pleaſure.*

If a *Man in honour* would quit his Birthright whereby he *is a little lower than an Angell*, and *become with* Nebuchadnezzar *like the Beaſts that periſh*; yet both the Field and Forreſt are ſevere Monitors to imployment, each animal being continually engaged in an orderly exerciſe of thoſe powers they are endued with,

Yea the dull Earth (beſides its conſtant exerciſes in ſpring, after it's long vacation) hath been diſcovered by ſome of late to *ſpend it ſelfe and to be ſpent* in conſtant ὑπερροα effluviums and emanations.

To deſcend to Hell, and lower he could not go, he ſaw the accurſed Spirit imployed and buſied, *Satan going to and fro in the Earth*, and induſtriouſly *walking about ſeeking whom he may devour*, making diligent uſe of the faculties, abilities, dexterities, which either *his nature* or *experience* have furniſhed him withall, towards the end he propoſeth to himſelfe.

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And therefore wondered what they meant that gloried in the ignominious honour and abasing exaltation of being above imployment, which beomes Heaven, Angells, and Men made perfect, and of being priviledged for that idle nesse which is below Earth and Hell, as if it were praise-worthy to be unprofitable burdens of the Earth, to be born onely to consume the fruit of it, *to eat and drink to day*, and *to morrow to die*; as if they were brought to the Earth, as the *Leviathan* to the Sea, *to take their pastime therein.*

A Souldier.

§ 6 He was ready to embrace any ingenuous imployment opportunity offred him and his parts deserved, not (though as a younger Brother) as a prize either to ambition or covetousnesse, but as an opportunity to exercise his vertues, a sphear wherein he might move vigorously for the service and honour of his Country, and (as mens parts, abilities, and capacities, are their best directions in the free choice of their calling wherein they intend to abide with God) finding himselfe master of those manly and severe endowments, that qualifie great natures for

for the rougher engagements of Camp and Warre, and are above the smoother dalliances of Court and Peace, he listed himselfe among the noble train of Cavileers, and of their number that were designed for actions worthy and great.

War

§ 7 Although his Excellency had not any right of his own lost which he was to recover by War (which is defined *to be the state of two* parties contending by publick force about right and wrong) and if he had, yet being a private person (since the constitution of publique Courts of justice) he ought to submit his right to the fair triall of judgement, "rather then to "put it to the *ordeall* of force and tumult, "for hence it is that the reverence of the "Law was found out, that nothing "might be done by force, see *Paul. L. non est de rep.* 1. *Cassian. l.* 4. *van.* 1. *Ep.* 4. *Theod. edict.* 10. 124. *et L. exstat. D. quod metus. Serven.* 11. *Æn Virg.* though *Ambrose de offic.* 3. 3. *Ambros* 1. *lib. arb.* 5. *ep.* 155. 10. 59. *Eustied. Amic. de Gratian. c. vel caus.* 13. *q.* have been taught to speak by some as otherwise minded) see *Canon. Epist.* 55. *edit. novis.*

Yet when lawfull power and publique

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persons for the maintenance or recovery of their rights that are invaded or threatned by some mens ambition or coveteousnesse, *Those lusts whence come Warres and Fightings among us*, have set up a Warre (War being of such concernment and consequence to Commonwealths, that its treason and that justly by most Laws to undertake a War without highest authority; *Plato de leg. l. ult. cic. de leg. l. 2. L. 3. D. ad l. Jul. maj. et Cornel leg. Justin. cod. valent. Aug. cont faust. l. 22. c. 74. p. 206. lin. 10. liv. Dec. ult. vel. l. 29. vitt. de bello numero 9.*) I say when lawfull power hath raised a War: Its lawful for private persons to assist others, being not wholly for themselves; it's commendable to become champions to afflicted right, to put forth a noble hand to rescue oppressed innocence out of the jawes of tyranny, it's the best way a younger brother can raise himselfe by raising the afflicted, and nothing ought to be more serviceable to a man saith *Cic. 2. de off.* than another man; it behooves every one to take up Arms upon injury done to himselfe or others, *Arles Rhet ad Alex. c. 3.* and happy are those Common-wealths wherein

wherein every one think anothers injury to be his, *and minds not onely his own things but the things of others*, and no man thinks himselfe unconcerned in that which is humane, *Lactant. car. var l. 6.*

Its usuall to engage in War for fellow-Citizens, for Mercheants, saith *Cic. ad Quint.* and *ver. 2.* by the leave of the supream power; indeed he were not a man that had not so much of the sociable nature as to help a man, *Simler rep. Helvet. Senec. de ira 1. c. 7. p. 51.* he is not valiant that will not assist weaknesse, *Euripid. supplic.* nor he just, that will not do right to the injured.

Præbent saxa perfugium feris, —— auraq; famulis,

Urbibq; præsis malo —— tutamen urbes, &c.

See *Mores de kocz. præc. 77. 80. Ben. Maim. in pec N. c. 7.* And he is not Loyall that will not serve his Prince; and there being as great a necessity there should be Wars, as the Apostle saith, that there should be divisions among us, its not unworthy of great persons so disposed, to seek their fortunes in a War, and having given themselvs to attain abilities suitable

to

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to the variety of exerciſes to be met with in that way, its reaſon they ſhould follow it, not as mercenary and hired to kill men, and thinking there is moſt right where there is moſt pay, *Plato in theat. Bellin. de re mil. 2. t. 2. p. 106. n. 4.* caſting their life away for that which they have onely for their lives, *Plato Bacch. Diod. ſic. l. 18.* though yet to be encouraged with rewards and ſtipends, for (ſaith St. *Paul*) who ever went a warfare at his own charge? 1 *Cor. 9. 7.* ſee *S. Auguſt. de verb. Dom. Ægid. de ait. ſuper diſp. 31. n. 8.*

Iriſh war. § 8 His Excellency was ready for ſervice when his late Majeſty had a ſad occaſion to employ his ableſt Subjects to ſuppreſſe the Rebellion in *Ireland* occaſioned by the Pope, 1 upon pretence of Religion, 2 a right to *Ireland*, and 3 the oppreſſion of the Catholicks in that Kingdome; but really upon the old maxim, that he that would gaine *England*, (which his holineſſe longs after) muſt firſt begin with *Ireland*, and upon a Prophecy found in the *Vatican* encouraging them at that time there-unto together with ſome ſad diviſions by Romiſh Emiſſaries to be raiſed in *England* about that time. § 9

§ 9 His Excellency well knowing that War is lawful: 1 By nature Man (as *Galen de uſu partium* hath it,) being made for war and peace, ſee *Ariſt. de part. animal. 4. 10. Caſſiod. de anima. Armaq; in armatos ſumere jura ſinunt Ovid. dente lupus cornu taurus petit, &c. Ho.* For 2. by Scripture, which recordeth it approved by the Prieſt of the moſt high God, *Gen. 14. 20.* which provideth Lawes for it; and recordeth the Worthies that fought *the Battailes of God*, and mentioneth *Men after Gods own heart Men of War; and devout Men, Centurians*, and forbids not Souldiers their employment, but forbids them *violence and falſhood, adviſing them to be content with their wages.*

§ 10 And knowing likewiſe, that this of all wars was moſt lawfull, being for his Majeſty againſt ſuch ſubjects as begun without authority, *It being a generall agreement of all Societies even the Aborig. to obey Superiours leaſt otherwiſe a Commonwealth become a ſolitude, or a confuſed throng where every one commands, and none obeyes, Valer. maxim. l. 1. Saluſt. 2.* to the Prince as *Tacitus* writes, doe all Men give the power, and to ſubjects the glory of obedience;

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dience; It being *death* to resist by the Law, *Deut.* 17. 12. *Joh.* 1. 18. see *Philo.* in *Flacc. l.* 2. *c.* 3. and *damnation* by the Gospell; *he that resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation, *Rom.* 13. 2. *Concil. chalced. et Trull. can.* 4. *Tolet.* 4. *Lucss. Can.* 5. *II.* and without cause.

§ 11 For 1. War is not to be undertaken as they pretend for Religion; the Papists might know that *Peter* was bid long agoe to put up his sword; It being (as *Gregory a Prophet of their own* once said) an unheard of way of preaching to beat Men into a beleife; It's the erroneous his punishment (saith *Plato*) to be taught rather then to be murdered: M. *Anton. l.* 9. *valent in Am. marcel. l.* 30.

None ought to be compelled to become religious saith the counsell of *Tolet. c. de Jud. and Tertull*: : : 2.

2 War is not lawfull to fulfill prophecies; which are uncertain in themselves, and in the time of their accomplishment; and its not our duty to doe what is foretold, but what is commanded. *viz. Lunclau. Turc. Hist. l.* 18. *Procop. Persic.* 2.

3. The Pope hath no right over *Ireland*: For

For 1. if Christs, (as *Pet. Dam.* saith) then his Vicars Kingdome is not of this world: 2. *Paul* would not, and therefore why doeth *Peter* meddle with them that are without: 3. A Bishop ought not to strike much more not to War for a Kingdome: 4. Our Kings enjoyed it as Lords, and then as Kings, time enough to prescribe three times over; being at first invited to it by the *Irish*: And then 5. if the Papists were oppressed, which they were not unlesse it were with indulgencies and favours, as that Champion in the olympick games was pressed to death with Roses; yet the *Pope* did ἀλλοτρίο ἐπισκοπεῖν medle foolishly in other Mens business; & subjects are not to redresse greivances by Wars, bnt by petitions, they are to beseech their Soveraigne, and not to force him.

§ 12 His Excellency might think it as reasonable and just as it was honourable to assist his Soveraign against the mighty who upon these forementioned unjust grounds, (which may better become the compleat *History of the Irish Rebellion*) assaulted his Majesties undoubted right to be bestowed by the Pope upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to endeavour under

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der his Majesties authority to reduce the Rebellious to obedience, and punish the bloody murthers, it being a primitive constitution, that he that sheds mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed, *Constantine* upon this account made War against *Licinius*, and others made War against the *Persians*, *Zonar. et Menand. P. et Aq*; 2. 2. 108.

§ 13 And therefore as well satisfied in the lawfullnesse of his undertaking (as every Souldier ought to doe who carrieth his life in his hand, and may expect (as the *Theban* Souldiers (a pattern for all others) argued with *Julian*) to die daily, and ought not to submit his precious life to the lusts and will of others, which hath too much to do to serve its own divers lusts and pleasures, he heads a Regiment by the Lord-Deputies's Commission, (that great man who understood well whom he employed, who as curiously observed other mens worth as he carelessly neglected his own: and was choice in his instruments, because he was so in his designes and imployments, well knowing his great actions must be left to the management of great soules) and

Command.

and this is the first of those publick undertakings wich are the subject of this discourse.

§ 14 Wherein the first thing he was eminent for, was *Discipline*, without which Commanders lead thronged multitudes and not armies, and listed routs rather than *Regiments*; he was not less carefull of morall than of the military *Discipline*, well knowing that that Souldiery will hardly vanquish an enemy that is vanquished by its own debauchery, *Ireland* (they say) endures no poyson, his Excellency would endure no dangerous exorbitancy to envenom his Regiment, nor any perverse *Achan that would trouble his Camp*, and next the care of keeping his Souldiers *Men*, and restraining them (when going out of themselves) within the compasse of humanity, he added that of making them Souldiers, that they might not be to *Learn* when they were to *perform* their duty.

Discipline.

Turpe est in arte militarj dicere non putaram.

§ 15 Besides that by his preparation the enemy might suspect that thier plot was discovered, and by his readinesse that it

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it was prevented, when men did but *seeme* to ſuſpect an unknowne plot they have often diſcovered it, and withall few Souldiers brought together in a military [redacted], as they can vanquiſh many out of [redacted]der, ſo they can affright more; the often muſtering of Souldiers among a dangerous people, is not the leaſt part of their policy, who know what pannick feare armed multitudes ſtrike into the diſperſed vulgar.

Familiarity.

§ 16 His Excellencies ſolemn familiarity no *Mother* of contempt was obſervable, whereby he inſinuated himſelfe ſo far into his Souldiers affection that they could have wiſhed their lives doubled that they might have one life to ſpend for his perſon as they had one for his cauſe.

His Language with *Cæſar* was not *Milites*, but *Commilitones*, not Souldiers, but Fellow-Souldiers; nor was this out of any deſigne ſo much as out of nature, and that note of *Livy* tooke no place here, *Credant haud gratuitam in tanta majeſtate Comitatem fore*, that ſo much Majeſty never condeſcended without deſigne, nor was that of the *Comick* a good rule here; *Non temerarium eſt ubi dives blande appellat pauperem; altera manu fert Lapidem, panem oſtentat altera Nemini credo, qui longe blandus eſt dives pauperis.*

§ 17 And when the ſad tim[redacted] that called for his actuall ſervice; [redacted] condition of *Ireland*, (now *without a Deputy*, (the laſt being beheaded; the ſad Prologue that uſhered in this Tragedy; the red morning of whoſe bloody death preſaged this tempeſt; as he *prophecyed* rather than *ſpoke* upon the Scaffold:) and by reaſon of the jealouſies at the ſame time ſtirred up between his late Majeſty and his Parliament by *Rome* and *Hell*; (one not daring to truſt the other to be charitable) *without ſupply and aſſiſtance*, grapling with the power of *Rome* from within, and from without from all the *Kings that had given their power to the Beaſt:*) kept his Excellency and other Worthies to the defenſive, and confined their care more how to ſave themſelves handſomely then how to ſubdue the enemy; which though their cauſe and valour prompted them to: (for *qui moleſtos arcet ex bona Conſcientia ſumit fiducium, bonaque ei ſpes adeſt, inde quod injuriam non infert ſed auferat, Alex. orat. ad mil. Herod.* 5.) yet their

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prudence checked them from, with the prudent caution in the Gospell of considering, *whether they were able with ten thousand to hurt them that came against them with twenty thousand*, for doubtlesse such and much greater was the ods, *between these two adversaries*.

§ 18 Though his Excellency spent not that time he stayed there without some offensive sallies upon the enemy; we must *offend* sometimes in our own *defence*, and give our enemies occasion to complaine that we will not patiently lye open to their full stroke; as that *Roman* brought an action against a Man, *because he received not his whole dart*.

§ 19 Yet he was most eminent then *upon necessity*, as he was since *upon designe* in a prudent reservation of himselfe; It being as great skill to ward off blowes, as to give them; he was as wise as that *Lewis* of *France* in preventing danger; who had foresights to prevent mischiefs when they were coming, but not a present prudence to engage them when come, though yet he was as ready in encountring dangers as that *Henry* of *England*, who could (as *Bacon* observes) who drew his life with a pencill as

is majestick as his Scepter) withready advice command present thoughts to encounter that danger with success which he could not with foresight prevent; he gave then, great signes of an admirable dexterity in mannaging disadvantages vvhich he hath since given full proofe of, vvhen he opposed himselfe against a *declining age*: engaging thousands with his single selfe.

§ 20 His stratagems were as considerable as any Mans in so narrow a command; for though force and terror be most proper to wars, yet we may lawfully use guile; *Sive dolo sive vj clamve Palamve Hom: Quicquid agendo Hostica delenda vis est Pind: dolus an virtus quis in hoste requiral virg.*

Your enemy you lawfully may spoyle,
Whether by open force or secret guile.

Bellandum est astu leviov laus in duce dextra.

——Lesse praise I gaine,
By my strong hand I war with my
strong braine.

Silius l. 5. ex Polib. l. nono. xenoph. κυρου: *1. Thucid. l. 5. Martis comites iræ insidiæque virg. Elharba hudiatum* saith *Mahomet*, Wars must have some deceit, ὁ δόλος ὁ ψυκτὸν οἷα στρατιωτικὸς *Eust ad Il. x. versu*

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120. so honourable is it to be wise as Serpents, that Saint *Chrysostome* in his first Book *de Sacerdotio* pronounceth that Generall most praise-worthy that hath obtained his victory by stratagems.

§ 21 The other private particulars (that that History may enquire into, which is due from after age to his blessed memory) will not beare those grave observations which are designed in this discourse for those more publick; his performances in this lower spheare being swallowed up with those of his superiors as the glories of lesser lights are undone at the appearance of a greater: Wherefore,

§ 22 I passe to the cessation made by his Majesties order; and the alteration in his Excellencies affaires thereupon.

For the jealousies forementioned being heightned to a War between his late Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament by their industry who are so well read in *Machiavell*, as to have learned that the best way to enjoy a Kingdome is to divide it; One side affirming our Government by a fundamentall constitution, a παμβασιλεία as *Aristotle*, a παντελὴς μοναρχία as *Sophocles* an αὐτοκρατὴς βασιλεία ἡ ἀνυπεύθυνος as

as *Plutarch*, and an ἐξουσία αὐτοτελὴς as *Strabo* saith, an absolute and full Kingdome, wherein his Majesty was ὃς ὑπεύθυνος πόλει by no meanes obnoxious to his Subjects; being Supreame over all Causes and Persons, accountable to none but to the blessed God, as the *Hebrew* Barnachman hath it, who (saith *Job*) shall say to Kings yee are wicked, or to Princes yee are ungodly.

The other side asserting our constitution mixt, and our Supreame power divided between the King, the Lords, and the Commons, as *Chalchondylos* formerly asserted of *England*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, vide *Plin. l.6. c.* 22. and some new Politicians of late, who though they confesse, *that in the beginning Kings had all power*, as *Pomponius* and *Justine* out of him; yet afterwards (as *Tacitus* observes) the People established Lawes which the King was to obey, *Tacit.* 3. *Annal. Cic. de rep.* 1. *et Feneſtell*, 3. 2.

And indeed we had the best constitution of a δημοκρατίαν ἀριστοκρατείᾳ μεμιγμένην as *Solon*, and an ἀριστοκρατείαν βασιλείᾳ as *Lycurg*, is by some made to speak.

§ 23 But upon some discontents the

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ſeverall powers claſhed and miſtruſted each other; and gave themſelves over to ſuch feares and jealouſies as put each raſhly upon thoughts of War which cannot be juſt unleſſe it be neceſſary; and therefore not to be undertaken, upon every cauſleſſe feare of uncertaine danger; But then there were ſome with *Attila*, that,

Cared not how the War begins,
If they could bring it to their ends.

This civil War was managed a while with variety of ſucceſs, that neither ſide ſhould either preſume or deſpaire.

§ 24 It pleaſed God his Majeſty ſuffered ſome diſadvantage at laſt, ſucceſſe being not commanded to attend the beſt cauſe here, nor miſcarrage the worſt, greatneſſe and goodneſſe, juſtice and victory being not yet married; there is ſo much ſecurity of the happineſſe of another life; that Chriſts Kingdome was not, and our hapineſs is not of this World; though many have been perplexed with that queſtion, *Cur bonis male ſit, why it fares ſo ill with the good*, yet a Bible well underſtood hath taught them, *that there is neither love nor hatred to be knowne by any thing under the Sun*; when we goe into the Sanctuary we

we are taught that its unwarrantable to appeale to heaven for the deciſion of this or that controverſy by the ſucceſſe beſtowed upon this party or that cauſe, according to its righteouſneſſe and due merit.

Pluto in *Ariſtophanes* is commanded to be as favourable to the wicked as the good; becauſe if virtue were rich, ſhe ſhould be courted more for her dowry then for her beauty; ſo if Juſtice or Religion had the advantage of proſperity (we ſhould be apt to follow it as the common Souldiers, more for the prey then for the cauſe; Chriſt would be followed againe for loaves.

§ 25 His Majeſties unhappy affaires in *England*, made ſome alterations in his Councels; together with no leſſe unſeaſonable then unlawfull interpoſition of thoſe of *Scotland* in our affaires; for ſince civill ſociety was inſtituted; its certaine the Rulers of every one have attained a ſpeciall right (in which others have no ſhare) over their own Subject, ſo that in them onely reſides the ſupreame power of Judgement, whence there is no appeal ſaith *Thucydides*.

Nos

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Nos quotquot hujus Colimus urbis mœnia,
Sufficimus ipsi nostra judicia exequi: Heraclides:
Spartam tibi quæ contigit orna —— nobis fuerit Cura myſœne: Proc. vandal 2. c. b. n. b. (although when Subjects ſuffer whats intollerable humane Society hath allowed, and prompted one Nation to aſſiſt another, ſo the *Romans* aſſiſted the *Perſians*; ſo the *Engliſh* ſuccoured the oppreſſed *Dutch* and *French.*)

§ 26 Theſe advantages prevailed with his Majeſty to order the honourable Marqueſſe of *Ormond* to bring the Rebels to a ceſſation upon the moſt advantageous termes: and to ſpare ſo many of his beſt Regiments for *Engliſh* ſervice; among whom his Excellencies is brought over as one every way accompliſhed for the exigence of thoſe times affaires; Neither needed his Majeſty make uſe of a *Quintili Varo redde legiones*; So compleat are his Companies, that he might reply to his Majeſty with reverence to our Saviours words, and of thoſe which you have given me, *I have hardly loſt one.*

§ 27 No ſooner was he and others landed on *Engliſh* ground, but they were entertained

entertained with a Surprize, by ſome Parliament Forces, before they had time to know which was their foe, which was their friend; For the Scene was altered and their noble hands were to be imbrued now in *Proteſtant*, and not in *Popiſh* blood; their ſwords were to be ſheathed no longer in *Iriſh*, but in *Engliſh* bowels; It had been ſome comfort had it been ſtrangers that they engaged with, but alas! it was with thoſe of their own and their Fathers houſe; It was with their familiars, thoſe with whom they had taken ſweet councell together, they of their own faith, one Baptiſme, and one hope, were their aid called againſt aliens, it were eaſy to reſolve, ſaith *Ariſtides Lucrica* 5. but a ſuddaine diſaſter prevented theſe debates, they being ſet upon by that Perſon whoſe undertakings were more ſuddaine then others thoughts, and ſometimes then his own.

§ 28 The Parliament were too well informed of theſe Regiments to give them the *ſtrengthning* advantage of *uniting* with the Kings main body, and better inſtructed in that maxime, *dum ſingulî pugnant vincuntur univerſi*, then to let them paſs without attempts upon them ſingly.

§ 29 His

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§ 29 His Excellency and others were taken Prisoners, and had now nothing left them but the glory of suffering for his Majesty, he is deprived of all those things that make a Souldier, and now what remaines but those prayers & teares that may make a Martyr; And in this capacity of a Prisoner did he remaine in the Tower so long as to see his Majesty utterly defeated, imprisoned as himselfe, (the anointed of the Lord was taken in their Nets, under whose shadow we said we should live in peace) yea and murthered too; to see Monarchy laid aside, Parliaments forced, Lawes, Priviledges and Properties invaded by their own Patrons; and the veyle that the uncertaine Warre kept on the Rebells face, now by a certaine successe drawn off: At their first entrance to *England* the *Irish* Forces were puzled; Against whom to direct their loyall Swords while each side was for the King, for Lawes, for Liberty, Property, and Religion; But now they were satisfyed in what they meant, that fought for his Majesty against the King.

Now the whole World saw that they least intended what they most pretended; ἀλλὰ

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν νοέεσκε κὴ φρατόμα *Homer* they that sit at our helme looked one way but rowed another, when they should make his Majesty glorious, they summon all the wit and malice of their side to make him infamous; when they should bring him to his Throne they bring him to the Scaffold, the Liberty they with much blood and treasure obtained for the Parliament is it seemes an unparalleld force; the Religion to be established are all the antiquated and condemned errours and heresies with the exploded Schismes that attended them, so many Religions that sober & unconcerned Spectators thought we had none, so easy is it in a throng of Religions to loose *Religion*.

§ 30 His Excellency saw how prosperity opened those Persons whom another condition kept close as mid day discloseth those shels whom night keepes shut, *advancement discovers a Man*; when *Appius* had his wish, *finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ*; he left wearing another mans Person: *maxima pars morem hunc homines habent, quid sibi volunt dum id impetrant boni sunt, sed id ubi jam penes sese habent, ex bonis pessimi, et fraudulentissimi sunt.*

Before

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Before the man	What he would have
Had got his end	He thus obtained
He was all Puritan	*And then resumed knave*

§ 31 And now he was in love with his imprisonment, seeing cleerly by this time that good cause that consecrated his misery, advanced his Prison to a sanctuary, and his close retirement to a religious life, in the good company of his many honourable and reverend fellow-sufferers; his withering and tedious durance being deceived away by the happy alleviation of Society; wherein it was doubtfull whether he took or gave more content.

§ 32 There were no meane Persons then that buzzed in his Excellencies eare his Majesties neglect of him, in that upon the severall exchanges of Prisoners on both sides he was not thought off; It seemes there broke out through his concealement & obscure restraint that worth that was not by our grandees thought below their temptations.

But his Excellency was so well appointed with naked honesty, that he was proofe against all suggestions to disloyalty.

He that looked upon his service to his Majesty as its own encouragement, and upon

upon his loyalty as his own reward, shunned not a neglect, or contempt, his care was not so much what he was in others thoughts, as what he was in his own; *he is great that is just, good and great in his conscience.*

And moreover his Majesty was so beset with malignant Courtiers that he could hardly see any Person in his own worth, without a malicious tincture from those *mediums* they passed through; otherwise he knew the Sun beheld not a more gracious Master to condescend humbly to take notice of his subjects service, to acknowledge it gratefully, and to reward it liberally.

His Excellency was not ignorant how coldly the renowned *Montrosse* was entertained for those services that were then (without disparagement to any) unparallelled; and have not been since seconded by any but those of his own.

But now he and three Nations have reason to think it was not his Majesty but God that delayed his releasement; reserving him for better seasons, wherein it might please him to make use of his Excellency; when rebellion had run

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run to the end of the line, and the *iniquities* of the *Amorites* became full: And it was time to check successfull villanies that blustered in the World, casting terror round about, and threatning Heaven and Earth; and to vindicate oppressed right and afflicted innocence.

Perijssem (might he say) *nisi perijssem*: I had been undone had I not been undone, for had he been released probably he might have partaked in some of the straglings undertakings of those times which provoked as unhappy to his Majesties cause as to the undertakers; for these slight endeavours kept together their divided adversaries with the common danger, and hardned them with their miscarriage; for they now thought that success hallowed their villanies; *Honesta scelera successus facit, Sen:* Whereas if Men had stood still, the fury of the Rebels had been spent upon themselves, for as they say wine must be fed with flesh, otherwise it will devour its own strength, so usurpation must have an adversary up for a *fomes* to its power, otherwise (as we have since seen) its like to feed upon its selfe; wherfore *who knowes not* that his Excellency

was

was reserved *for such a time as this.*

§ 33 And although he had been slighted by his Majesty, (which was not impossible, considering the *evill councell* about his Majesty (that betrayed him to his friends and foes) *against whom* he *himselfe* had as great cause to raise a War as his *Parliament:*) yet that his enemies who durst not put him to death (it being against equity saith *Sen. ep.* 1. & *Alexander in Plutarch*, against the Law of War saith *Salust.* in his *Jugurt History*, and great cruelty saith *Diodorus Siculus l.* 17. against the custome of War saith *Cæsar l.* 2. *de belle Gallico: Taul. Anali.* 12. to murther Prisoners *quos mars reliquit prælio superstites Eurip.*) entrust him with liberty is the eternall Monument for his worth and faithfulnesse; this was a Man (as his late Majesty said of that honourable *Strafford*) that *even Principalities and Powers that would not trust might feare.*

§ 34 Upon the *Parliaments* unhappy successe, Men of dangerous designe and loose Principles, usurping Supreame power: 1. From the Sword, when most that fought in this unhappy War protest they fought not for power but for Liberty.

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berty: 2 From the people when thought they are not Servants by nature, as *Arist.* would have it, yet neither are they all Masters, for who then would obey? or if they had the power, all the World knows that they would otherwise dispose of it then to these Persons) Proceed (as its usuall after civill Wars) against the Kings party as Traytors for their loyalty; whose carriage in the War could not be treason against their Government, which they acknowledge is the issue of the War: and now searching Prisons they chose out the chiefe for exemplary justice (as the fattest commonly falls a Sacrifice) and shed the blood of War in the time of peace; and *revenged themselves*, (1. Inhumanely saith *Sen.* 2. Unjustly as they were injured, saith *Tyrius*, yea beastly saith *Plut.* for saith he, Beasts bite him that bites, see *Grotius, de bello et pace part.* 2. *p.* 80:) Upon his sacred Majesty (though they were checked with a *Touch not mine anoynted:* and *though no Man* 1 Sam. 26. 9. *could lay hands upon the Lords anoynted and be guiltlesse*;) and upon the flower of the Nobility and Gentry that had escaped their fury in the Field.

§ 35. His

§ 35 His Excellency being a younger Brother had not estate enough to make his offences capitall; yet had too much worth to be at liberty, and to be an enemy; there appeared it seemes in his single Person what whole Nations might be afraid of.

Therefore *Cromwell* that had Souldier enough in him to understand a Souldier takes the advantage of his Excellencies *solitude* for a temptation, and assaults him with an *all this will we give you*; withall adding (as most commonly his speeches had a sting in the tayle) that there was no lesse could purchase his Liberty of the Parliament then his service.

§ 36 His Excellencies thoughts are now divided between two equall inconveniencies, uncertaine how to guide a discreet choice; to continue himselfe in Prison (now he might be enlarged upon the inauguration of these new powers) were sullenly to put himselfe beyond all hope of being serviceable to himselfe, his cause, his Countrey; to goe and serve his successefull adversaries, and to abet prosperous villany with the same hands he once withstood it were to betray his former actions, and condemne himselfe: not without some suspition of time-serving,

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as if with that Marqueſſe of *Winchester* he had been made rather of the complying *willow*, then of the royall and *ſolid oake*; ready alwayes for the prevailing ſide.

§ 37 Upon a ſober debate with himſelfe (for War muſt be *once* well thought on, wherein they ſay a *Man cannot erre twice*) though morals by reaſon of the variety of unexpected circumſtances are ſo uncertaine that its χαλεπὸν διαγνῶναι *Ariſt. 1. eth Cic. 1. et 3. off. Rhodius l. 2. c. 3.* and *quod dubitas ne feceris* ſaith *Pliny l. 1. ep. 19. covar. de mal. c. 7. p. 2. n. 9.* what is not of faith is ſin ſaith the holy Ghoſt *Rom.* 14. 23. if a Man doth any thing and doubts he is damned:) yet partly by the ſtrength of his own great reaſon; partly by the advice of his Oracles whom he had ready to conſult with in all emergencies; (Its *moſt excellent* to be able to direct ones ſelfe, ſaith *Minutius* out of *Heſiod*, next to follow the good directions of others, *vaſq; diſp. 62. c. 3. n. 10. victor. de Judic. relat. 1. n. 12.* Σόφοι τύραννοι ἐπὶ σοφῶν συνουσία the company of wiſe men brings learning and wiſdome unto Kings; The *Roman* Emperours undertook no War without the advice of *Fæciales*, nor the Chriſtian without their Biſhops ſaith *Grotius bell. et pac. p. 1. c. 117.*) he left it to poſterity

poſterity, *that betwixt two evils his Excellency could doe well.*

§ 38 For with the conſent of his beſt friends; with the bleſſing of his reverend Confeſſour the L. B. of E. with the approbation of his own heart (*and if our hearts condemne us not we have confidence towards God*) He liſted himſelfe under the *Par.* for the Ks. ſervice, profeſſing (as I am credibly informed) to the B. of *E.* that as he expected Heavens bleſſing with his Lordſhips, he now ſerved his enemies only for his friends advantage; And methinkes the reverend Father, with other his noble and reverend fellow-priſoners beſpeak him as *David* doth *Huſhai* the *Archite*, 2 *Sam.* 15. 32, 33, 16, 17, 18, 17, 14. 'If you continue with us, you will be a 'burden to us as we are to you, but if you 'return, and ſay unto theſe younger pow-'ers, I will be your ſervant, as I have 'been a ſervant to the powers before you 'ſo will I alſo be yours; then may you 'defeat the councell of their *Achitophels*; 'Have you not with you alſo *Zadock* and '*Abiathar* the Prieſts (two reverend Per-'ſons, whom had I time to goe and aske 'their leaves, I would mention to the 'World not without due prefaces of ho-'nour,) & me thinks when ſome enemies

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c were ready to say is this your kindneſſe
c to your friend? why would you not goe
c with your friend? he might reply as
c well as *Huſhai* and no better, whom the
c Lord, and this people, and all the Men of
c *Iſrael* choſe, his will I be, and with him
c will I abide.

And we have ſeen how by the councell of our Huſhai, *the Lord had appointed to defeate the good councell of eminent* Achitophels *to the intent that the Lord might bring evill upon theſe* Abſaloms; The incomparable *Grotius* out of L. *ſec.* 1. *de dolo malo*, ſaith it was too crudely ſpoken by *Cicero* that *our* whole converſation ought to be altogether free from ſimulation or diſſimulation; without which we cannot live among thoſe that are wiſe in their own generation; ſo lawfull is it (as *Thom.* 2.229.40. or 3.9.7. *artic. ſilv: in verbo bell. p.* 1. *n.*9. decides the queſtion out of St. *Auguſtine* upon the fifth *Pſalm*) to caſt the vayle of diſſimulation, not that ἀπάτη but οἰκονομία, that compliance and diſpenſation as Saint *Chryſoſt.* calls it over the face of truth, that God himſelfe ſeemes ſometimes to goe along with ſucceſſefull wretches in the purſuit of their lower deſignes while he mannageth the eternall councell of his own will, thus *Paul* harmleſly becomes all things

things to all Men that he might gaine ſome; although ὁ χρηστὸς, as well as ὁ μεγαλοψυχὸς, ought to be ἀπλοῦς ὁ ἀκακος a Man in whome there is no guile, and if it were poſſible to deale openly with all Men.

§ 39 But his Excellency beſides was not to learne that uſefull Men muſt not withdraw their ſervice from their Countrey to ſpight Uſurpers: we muſt goe on each in our place to keep up Law, peace, and order according to an Uſurpers will; though not for his Authority, but for publick good, which is the onely Soveraignty we are under in the abſence of the *Lawfull Magiſtrate ordained of God*; provided we contribute as little as vve can for the eſtabliſhing of the Uſurpers; *Cyllas* Lavves vvere of povver ſaith *Quint. l.* 2. *c.* 1. ſo far as the ſtate of the Citty vvas contained in them; that it could not ſtand (as *Florus* upon thoſe Lawes) if they were diſſolved, ſee *Saurez. de legib. l.*3. *c.*10. *n.*9.

§ 40 And now not onely *Ireland*, but *England* called like the *Macedonian*, come and help us; for *they that turned the World upſide down were almoſt come hither alſo*: *Campanella Cotzen*, and *Richlieu* in their politicks having long ſince made *Ireland* a paſſage into *England*; ſo its not ſo much

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an order of Parliament, as a law of nature dictated by common safety and publick good that seemes to command him over into *Ireland*; which must not be neglected for any private quarrell; *Themistocles* and his *Antagonist* left their private grudges at home; when they were employed abroad for publick service; if the intelligences were removed, their own (they say) and the Worlds interests would turn the Spheares.

§ 41 Its true the Rebels pretended a League with his Majesty, and therefore they should be rather succoured then opposed by his friends: But the wise knew that had his Majesties subjects helped these Rebels to a conquest over the Parliament, they had helped them to a conquest over themselves, for they were as impatient of a Protestant Monarchy, as of a Free state or rather more, for this was thought to be of their own designe and contrivance; and the other the object of their malice and antient hatred. His Majesty himselfe though much perswaded by his Mother, could not be prevailed with to joyne with those in *Ireland*; for though *Thucydides* say the *Athenians* did well in a case of necessity to seek aide not onely of the *Grecians* but of the *Barbarians*; Yet me-

thinks I heare *Fulco of Remes in Fred. l. 4. Hist. Rhemensi c. 6.* admonishing our *Charles* as he did another; who may not be afraid seeing you covet amity with the enemies of God; and to the overthrow of the Protestant name take unto you Popish armes, and enter into Leagues detestable; they are great offenders saith *Alexander* in *Arrianus*, who serve the *Barbarians* against the *Greekes*, contrary to the Lawes of *Græcia*; shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, 2 Chron. 19. 2. *O King let not the arme of* Israel *goe with thee, for the Lord is not with* Israel, *nor with any of the Children of* Ephraim, 2 Chron. 25. 7. *Be yee not unequally yoked with misbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousnesse with unrighteousnesse, what communion hath light with darknesse*, 2 Cor. 6. 1. 15.

§ 42 His Excellency resolves (upon the termes proposed by the Parliament) for the *Irish* service in the capacity of a Collonel of Foot; but first he must take the engagement; when usurpation hath ravished just power, it usually supports it selfe with the two Pillars of Armes and Oathes; a good Man feareth an oath, and therefore his Excellency, upon mature deliberation made a promise equall to an

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oath: (for a noble soule of πίστις, βεβαιος πίστις as the *Persians*, such *bonæ fidei* as *Augustus*, that ὁμοίως τὰς ἐν τῆς λόγοις ὁμολογίας ὥσπερ τὰς ἐν ὅρκοις διαφυλάττων *Isoc. de evag. Gunther. Leg. &c.* Its word is as strong as its oath:) that he would be true and faithfull to the Common-wealth without a King or House of Lords; and he is not a Man that would not be faithfull to the interest, Common-wealth, and good of his own Nation as well without as with a King; which was the primary, favourable, proper and significant import of that ingagement to the best judgements of that time.

§ 43 He is no sooner made sure, but he is sent by that Man of dispatch, O. C. (into whom the old Emperour of Germany thought *Gustavus Adolphus* his hasty soul was got by a metempsuchosis) with *Reynolds* and others to *Chester*, and thence wafted over by a favourable gale immediately to *Dublin*, and made his way resolutely through the thickest of his enemies to relieve the distressed City; where they staid not long but impatient both of restraint and delay; they sally out for more elbow-room with that successe that they had the pursuit of the enemy for many miles, untill they came upon my Lord of

Ormond's whole Army ready for an overthrow, such was their confusion and disorder.

The honourable Lord of *Ormond* unhappily thus associated, being betrayed to that security that he is playing at Tables, and his Army and cause lyes at stake.

After this Victory. these lower Commanders are carried about with the rapid motions of O. C. that violent first mover, who upon his first arrivall *Jehu-like* drave furiously towards *Trogedah* with all his Forces; took the place by storm, and spared neither Man, Woman, nor Child, Indeed throughout he was resolved to use the highest right and law of War; which after ages may dare to call an injury; strangers were not spared, for by the Law of War strangers upon an enemies ground is an enemy, *Philo. de judice ex vetere Oraculo. Malcha excerp. legis:* nor sacred Persons, my Lord *Broghil* hanged a Bishop (notwithstanding the common clamour for their Father in God) with an *hæc sunt vestimenta patris:* no native escaped the severall parts justly suffering for the guilt of the whole: Its lawfull to continue the punishment of a guilty Nation; for one generation after its fault, *Arist. Pol. 7. c. 13. Liban. orat. de sedit. Ant.* Yet its the

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the generall Law of War (if yet it have any law, and it be not true what that rash head blurted that martiall Law was as absurd as martiall peace) *Hostis sit ille et qui extra præsidia, &c. Liv.* 37. *Baldus* 1. *de just. Bembus Hist.* 7. mercy, sanctuary, &c. are say the Souldier, for *the miserable rather then for the guilty, venet. de Asylis Thu.* 1585. *Cambd. Eliz.* 1593. *and we tooke all his Cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the Men; and the Women, and the little ones, and we left none to remaine, Deut.* 2. 34. *Ps.* 137. *ult.* But with this flux of blood, they said they stopped a greater; *Sanguinis fluxum diffusa venula revocamus Tert.*

The very report of this siege reduced all *Ireland*: for immediately the two next Garrisons *Trim* and *Dundalk* are quitted; such a pannick fear seizing upon the Souldiers, that they were not able to endure a *summons*: this successe is seconded with the taking of *Werford*, *Rosse*, *Kingsale*, *Corke*, *Youghal*, *Bandon-bridge*, *Barrow*, and *Duncannon*, *Enistroge*, *Carricke*, *Waterford*: and now *Cromwell* no sooner seeth a Citty or an Army, but he conquers it; In the meane time his Excellencies particular honour was involved in that great renown of the Generall; whatever glory he acquired it *was* as the *Civilians* say for his Master.

§ 44 *Ireland* now acknowledging the conquest in ten months, (for they were there but from the midle of *August*, 1649 to the next *May*, 1650.) which ten Aged formerly durst not boast of; They return by order of Parliament to *England* to assist them in those dangers that threatened them on every side; especially from *Scotland* that had ingaged it selfe by a late Treaty at *Breda* to assist his sacred Majesty. 1. In bringing the Murtherers of his late Father of blessed memory to condigne punishment. 2. In recovering his royall right.

§ 45 *Cromwell* being to goe for *Scotland*, (the House having now concluded that the War should be offensive; and my Lord *Fairfax* laying down his Commission) makes choice of his Excellency for one of his Commanders in that desperate expedition; which he willingly undergoeth when he heard the quarrel stated by *Lashley* upon the account of the *Old Cause*; 'and not upon the account of the King 'whom they disowned, as one sticking too 'close to his Fathers sins forsooth, his 'House & Friends: Judging souls thought that War was for his Majesty rather then against him, that *Cromwell* there was loyall; and that it was a great courtesy for our

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our Soveraign to be conquered, least a sad successe had gained him a Kingdome with the losse of Religion, Law, and Liberty; however his Excellency thought it unresonable to see his Native Countrey submit its Law and Religion to the sawcy imposition of a neighbour Nation that had been indeed often taught to take Lawes from us; but never to give us any.

§ 46 When his Excellency was in *Scotland*, jealous *Oliver* joynes with him *Lambert* and *Okey* to watch his thoughts, words and actions, and to check him from any designe of loyalty; which he discreetly observed, and therefore managed each action committed to his trust, as that against the *Highlanders*, *Dundee*, *&c.* with such resolution as made him beleeved cordiall to the cause, and able for service, and therefore advanced him to the command of Lievtenant Generall in *Scotland*; It was his honest ambition to be eminent in every thing he undertook, so he hoped at last to arrive at that power that might sway Kingdomes to a compliance with his Majesties interest, as successfully as he saw them now swayed against it.

§ 47 And therefore when his Majesty marched for *England* by the way of *Carlisle*, he refused to follow him, and chose rather

rather to compleat former victories in *Scotland* as Commander in chiefe, then to gaine new ones in *England* under *Oliver*: Therefore waiting anxiously betwen hope and feare upon his Majesties successe in *England*, he took care to reduce *Scotland* into a subjection to the Parliament untill an opportunity offered it self of restoring it to the King, who had utterly lost it had not he lost it.

§ 48 But no sooner were the *Scots* Wars finished, but *Holland* threatneth us. 1 Partly upon his Majesties account being engaged to his assistance: 1 By the Prince of *Orange*: 2 By Admirall *Vantrump* who had not forgot the high honours bestowed upon him in *England* in the year 1641. 3 By an overture made between his late Majesty of blessed memory, and their Embassadour the night before his death; Partly upon their own account claiming a right in our Seas which we for times out of mind were taught to * deny them.-----

See *Fleta* and *Selden* notes upon it; see *Draytors Polyalbyon*, *Grotius de jure belli et pacis* of propriety; see *Saxon* Lawes in *Spelm* and *Selden*: *Just.* and *Theod. Codes*: the *Danish* Lawes in the exact Collect of *Beccius*: *Whitlockes observat. &c.*

§ 49 His Excellency is called upon from

* See Gratium in mare lib. Seld. mare Clous Strinb. Mar. Com. Greg. Thol. jur. reg. Franc. prop. L. L. quæ propria ulpian l. o. L. L. quæ comuniæ: vid servium in 12 Æn. virg. Eustach. in il. x. n. 22.

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from *Scotland* to Sea in joynt commission with *Blake*, and *Deane*, he willingly submits knowing he was to engage for the right of his native *Countrey*, I meane the dominion of the narrow Sea, which belonged to *England* as a hedge (so the Sea is called in *Eurip.* and most Poets since out of him) belongs to the incloſure, and indeed is the beſt of its enjoyments.

§ 50 He being at ſome loſſe in Sea affaires diſcovers as much wiſedome in making uſe of other Mens skill, as others did in acting by their owne; others direct he encourageth, and ſpirits the dull Sea-men to action; to paſſe by the meaner paſſages his moſt ſolemn performance was the laſt engagement with the *Dutch* for which the Parliam. honour him with a gold chaine, and oblige him by a command over the Army in *Scotland*; which he underwent willingly, ſo ſecuring to himſelfe and his Maſter one Kingdome while now an Uſurper ſwallows up two.

§ 51 Being come to *Scotland* he takes care that the Councell who were in joynt power with him, ſhould be Men of ſolid Principles and good Intereſt, & if he muſt be troubled with ſome fanaticks, they were ſome ſoft, eaſy and quiet Men that ſtood for cyphers, and were only to fill up

number, and not to maintain a party.

§ 52 He takes care to reſtraine that *Scottiſh* ſpirit that is never quiet Conquerour nor conquered; and remembring what ſad uſe they had made of former indulgencies, proceeds with force and rigour, reſolving that they ſhould *really fear* him, who he knew would never *really love* him.

§ 53 He diſarmed, impriſoned, and innocently trappanned them, (though none of them ſuffered the leaſt upon his account in ſtate or life) and ſo amuſed the cunning *Scot*, with active policy, that he had ſcarce time to think of plots, or to contrive villany.

§ 54 And when ſome Loyall perſons under the honourable *Middleton*, attempted ſomething 1654. he eaſily ſubdued them, firſt *dividing* and then *conquering* them; he was as ready to ſuppreſs thoſe men that attempted any thing *Inconſiderately* for his Majeſty, as he hath been ſince to incourage them when they attempted any thing ſoberly: It was about that time *Oliver* would have had him out of *Scotland*, and therefore had not he oppoſed his Majeſty then, probably he had not been in a capacity to reſtore him now.

55 In

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§ 55 In *Scotland* he impartially executed all Lawes enacted by the Supreame power in *England* tending to the peace & welfare of that Nation: so that his severities had not formerly enraged them more than his justice obligeth them, and therefore *Oliver* omitted no opportunity to tempt him out of *Scotland*, by calling him to the other house, &c. which temptations he dextrously put off (choosing (with *Cæsar*) rather to be first in *Scotland* than 3d. or 4th. in *England*) so that the Usurper was heard often to say "that he could do many things were *G. M.* out of *Scotland*: And if I am not deceived by knowing and good men, the Usurper upon his death-bed (when he was urged to name his successour) professed, *It was in vain to set up a Protector in* England *for* George Monck *would bring a King out of* Scotland.

MODERN

MODERN POLICY.

The Second Part.

ALthough upon *Cromwel's* death, it was thought, the awe (whereby he checked the private designes of each party to an homage to his own) was so happily removed; that the severall Grandees would now publickly pursue their aime at that Supremacy, to which each of them was willing to advance *Cromwell* first (one daring enough to break the ice to an usurpation) *Sect.* His Excellencies behaviour upon *Cromwel's* death.

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that they themselves might be his Seconds: and because (as *Seneca* saith) *scelera dissident*, their villainous Enterprises would interfer and clash, each of them resolving to admit neither equall nor superiour; it was thought honest men might have opportunities to joyn together in vindication of lawfull Soveraignty and publick Right, while the Theeves and the (*a*) publick Robbers (as the Pirates told *Alexander*) fell out about oppression and wrong; *Take off the common Principles in which Rebels agree, and the common persons that keep them together with those Principles, their variety of humors and interests bring them immediately to a division, and then to a ruine*, *Machiavel. Kings l. 2. c. 3.* on *Livy l. 6. c. 2. sect. 3.* These *Rods* that have lain so long upon our backs might be singly broken, when they could not be broken united, and in a bundle.

a *Magna Latrocinia.*

But *Cromwell* taking as much care to *keep* usurped power as he took to *gain* it: —*Nec minor est virtus quærere quum perta tueri*: and being a man of ὑπὲρ αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμίας, as *Arist. de An. l. 2. c. 1. Eth. 4. c. 3.* of desires as vast as his thoughts, and

and as boundless as his soul: πίθος τριμμένος as *Iamblichus Carm. 6.* And therefore its pitty (as *Socrates* saith) that great and good have been separated) he secured not the Government with more policy to himself then he doth to his Heires after him for ever! for (naming his Son *Richard* Successor, according to a power cunningly gained by him from the Parliament in a Petition and Advice 1656.) he contrived him an impregnable interest; first in *Ireland*, by his Brother *Henry* made there Lord Deputy: secondly in *Scotland*, by a Councell and an Army, made up, for the most part, either of Relations, or of Fanatiques, or of New-purchasers of the Kings, Queens, and Bishops Lands, all equally engaged to the Usurper: thirdly in *England*, 1. by a Councell made up of his Fathers own Creatures: 2. An Army under his Brother in Law *Fleetwood* Commander in chief; his Uncle *Desborough* as Major Generall, and severall other Relations of his in great command; so that his *Army* was like that of *Abrams*, *of his own house*: 3. The City awed by a pack of Sectaries, under one *Io. Ireton* a Creature of his, since the marriage of his

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Brother *Henry* with *Oliver*'s Daughter. 4. The Countrey people generally ſo much pleaſed with the obliging carriage, to which *Oliver* politickly brought him up, that they generally ſaid, *If we muſt needs have an Uſurper, we will be content to have him.*

Sect. His Excellency ſaw *Richard* ſo well ſettled, that to attempt any thing againſt ſo well layed a Government, in the behalf of his moſt Sacred Majeſty, had been but to hazard the beſt Cauſe, with his own and his Friends perſons and fortunes, againſt a tide, which ſwelling higher by the oppoſition, would quickly have overwhelmed them: And therefore he ſubmitted himſelf to a compliance with the Power then in being; acting by its authority; knowing (as *Grotius* ſaith, *jure belli & pacis* p. 1. c. 73.) *That the acts of empire which an Uſurper exerciſeth may have power to oblige, not out of his right, which is none, but becauſe it's better his Commands ſhould prevail and be of force, then utter confuſion be brought in; the Laws and Iudgements being taken away:* See *Suarez. leg. l. 3. c. 10. n. 7. vid. de poteſt. civ. n. 23.* And ſo his Excellency went

went on with the Uſurper, ſtrengthening the hands of the evill doer for publique good, while he was weakening him in private intereſt: We may obſerve in Nature, that the ſeverall parts of it, though they are ordinarily true and faithfull to their ſtanding rule, law, and duty, (the light going upwards and the heavy downwards, &c.) yet they are allowed to comply with a violence, that brings them out of their place & order, againſt their inclination and law, to fill up ſuch chaſmes, and ſupply ſuch vacuities as may endanger the diſſolution of the whole.

Beſides, I think really his Excellency, together with our Gracious Soveraign, had rather the Invader ſhould be left in poſſeſſion, then occaſion given to ſuch dangerous and bloudy commotions, as they both trembled at the thoughts of, which yet muſt neceſſarily follow upon any violence againſt thoſe men, who have ſtrong Factions on their ſide at home, and as ſtrong Confederacies abroad. It was their opinion, χεῖρον ἅπαν μοναρχίας παντὸς πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, *Plutarch*: Or as *Favonius* hath it, *Civill War is worſe then unlawfull Government. Mihi pax omni cum civibus bello civili utilior*

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utilior videtur, Cic. *Titus Quintus* thought it better the Tyrant *Nubis* had been let alone at *Lacedemon*, when he could not otherwise be thrown down, but with the ruine of the Common-wealth, likely to periſh in vindication of her Liberty: For (as *Ariſtophanes* hath it) *A Lion is not to be bred in a City; but if he be brought up he muſt be kept:* For indeed we *nec morbum ferre poſſumus nec remedium, Liv.* Yea, we were ſo unfortunately ſick, that we feared, *plus periculi a medico quam a morbo*: For though Uſurpation falls heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloudy conſequences of an inteſtine War are worſe ſpreading and permanent.

Sect. His Excellency was as carefull to keep others within an uſefull moderation and prudence, as he was to act according to it himſelf; and therefore upon *Oliver's* death He and the Councel make an Order:

That there be none brought from beyond the Seas to *Scotland*, and that none be carried from *Scotland* beyond

beyond the Seas, without ſpeciall leave, and a Paſſe. That there be no unuſuall meetings of Perſons dangerouſly affected to the Peace of that Nation, *&c.*

And ſeized upon ſeverall perſons dangerouſly buſie about his Majeſties Affairs in that Kingdome; whereby he at once ſeemed to be very cordiall againſt his Majeſties intereſt, and for that of the Uſurpers; and really did his Majeſty the beſt ſervice imaginable, and his Friends the greateſt curteſie: 1. Reſtraining them from thoſe attempts which had been their ruine: *Æquum non eſt* (ſaith *Stallius*) *ut ſapiens diſſipientiurs cauſſa in pericula & turbas ſe conjiceat*: See *Nehem.* 9. 27.

2. And withdrawing from the Uſurper that advantage which he made of ſuch vain and empty oppoſitions, towards his own eſtabliſhment and ſettlement; who knows not that *Oliver* was advanced to that height

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we ere while admired and feared, by thoſe plots which he ſubtlely contrived, and others were fooliſhly trapanned to? by whoſe diſcovery and defeat he rendered himſelf formidable, and by ſly inſinuations, of what danger the Government, and the three Nations were in, by reaſon of them, prevailed with his Conventions to ſecure the Common-wealth, by promoting his power daily, upon the occaſion of one pretended Plot after another, untill he ſerued himſelf up to the power of the moſt abſolute Monarch in *Europe*.

His Excellency thought that monſtrous Power would fall away of it ſelf, which might be held up and ſtrengthened by oppoſition; A *Lacedemonian* in *Plutarch* when he read, *Hos dum Marte parant dominatum extinguere, ſævus ante ſalientis Mania mors rapuit*; added, *Merito viri illi periere; expectare enim debuerunt, ut ipſe per ſe dominatus conſtingraret.*

Sect. His acquieſcing in *Richards* free Parliament.

In the mean time he reſolved to acquieſce diſcreetly in the determination of the free and full Parliament, which *Richard* and his Councell were happily neceſſitated to call; towards the right conſtitution of which,

which, he contributed much in the choice of ſuch Parliament men for *Scotland*, as the Malignant party in *England* would not have willingly admitted to the Houſe; who when they entred, aſſiſted the Honeſt party in ſuch counſels as would have *brought down* the power which *Oliver ſet up* with ſo much bloud and treaſure, in the twinkling of an eye, without any noiſe or ſtir: wherefore they were ſuddenly after diſſolved by the Army, with a conſent that *Richard* gave to it: Ἑκὼν εἰκόντος θυμῷ.

Although his Excellency was ſorry to ſee ſuch unwarrantable violence offered to a free Parliament, made up of the honourable Repreſentatives of three Nations; yet he was pleaſed to ſee that vaſt Power taken from *Cromwel's* Family, by the ſame Authority that gave it them, even before a third Heir enjoyed it: He ſo well foreſaw the future eſtabliſhment of theſe Nations, through theſe ſeverall revolutions (as the eſtabliſhment of a fair World out of a Chaos) that he ſtuck not in an Addreſs to the Parliament (whom the Army had invited to reaſſume their power, which they had once forced them from, and now looked upon as the onely Authority that could

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could serve their turn and intereſt) to ſay, that *the Nation* was then *born in a day.*

Sect. His carriage towards the long Parliament when recalled.

When thoſe Members that the Army had called in, refuſed the admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, thoſe worthy Patriots, that were reſolved to doe their King and their Countrey right; when they reſolved to uſurp the Government, denying the Nation their priviledge of being governed by a free and full Parliament, and ſiding with a company of Sectaries and deſperate perſons, that were engaged to ruine our Church and State, neglected our honourable Nobility, our worſhipfull Gentry, our reverend Clergy, and in a word ſlighted three Kingdomes, and with their aſſiſtance awe us with Militia's, and oppreſs us with Aſſeſments ſo farre, to the diſcontent of the whole Nation, that they agree upon a generall Inſurrection upon the firſt of *Auguſt*; but upon ſome diſcoveries made by the unhappineſs of the Honourable the Lady *Howard* (whoſe Sex was not capable of that ſecrecy which her Loyalty might be intruſted with) and others, they were prevented in moſt places, ſave only in

Cheſhire, *Lancaſhire*, and *Wales*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Philip Egerton*, &c. by reaſon of their diſtance from the Parliament and Army, got together ſuch a conſiderable party, that alarumed the whole Army under *Lambert*, and an Iriſh Brigade beſides, to march towards them: whom his Excellency beheld favourably, and had they brought their deſign to any iſſue, he would have aſſiſted to bring thoſe refractory Members at *Weſtminſter* to ſome reaſonable termes: Although he would not have engaged againſt thoſe Members, (being obliged unto them, and thinking not with *Cicero*, that a man may break his oath with theeves; or with *Brutus* in *Appion*, That ἐδὲν πιστὸν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τυράννους, ἀδ' ὅσιον, That *the Romans eſteem no faith, yea nor oath to be kept with Tyrants,*) yet would he have uſed his intereſt with them to reduce them to a Moderation.

T. Fregis A. quàm neque dedi, neque do Infideli cui peream. Accuis.

Sect. His deſign upon Sir *G. Booth's* riſing.

But upon Sir *George Booth's* overthrow, *Lambert*, blown up with the ſucceſs, ſores high, and contrives, that the Army now highly careſſed by him, with the thouſand pound

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pound sent by the Parliament to buy him a Jewell, &c. should stickle for his Honour to be Commander in chief of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the next step to the Protectorship of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and that the Parliament, in case they denied it, should be dissolved; which he saw done accordingly.

Sect. His resolution against the Armies Arbitrary power.

Whereupon *Lambert* calling together his Counsel of Officers, makes sure of a correspondence with the Army in *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, and therefore dispatcheth Collonel *Barrow* for *Ireland*, and Collonel *Cobbet* to General *Monck*; who though he was a Member of the Army, yet was he likewise a Servant to the Parliament; and of two Confederates he is to be preferred that hath a just cause of warr. The *Athenians* were to assist their fellows the *Messenians* against their other fellows the *Lacedemonians*, *Dem. Orat. de Megalop.* Methinks I hear his Excellency replying to Collonel *Cobbet*'s Message, as the *Aconans* did to the *Spartans*, *Amicus auxilia ferenda contra hostes non contra Amicos*; *vid. fidel. Tubal. l. 4. c. 31. l. 7. Ptolom. apud Appianum*

Appianum in leg. exceptis: Or with him in *Alexandrides.*

Ego esse vester non queam Commilito,
Quando nec leges nec mores Consentiunt
Sed multis inter se Convallis discrepant.

Vid. Orat. Partaxe ad Lazos apud Agath. l. 3. c. 2. n. 6.

Sect. The noble Generall, according to his instructions from *London*, secures *Cobbet*; at once preserving his Army from such dangerous insinuations as that person brought along with him thither; and to cut off all the advantages the Army in *England* might have of the information he might carry home with him.

He imprisons *Cobbet* the Armies Messenger.

Its true an Embassadour is *per saeculapolum sanctum nomen Papin. & Pompon. l. si quis D. de legal.* yea, *Sancta sunt corpora legatorum var. l. 3. de l. Tutius regressus legato Radevic. append. de Polon. morian. l. 12. de mauris*; so that they were not to be violated in life, limb, estate, or liberty; for it is *contra jus legatorum, legatos in vinculis habere Menand. de Inst. 2. Imp.*

But Collonell *Cobbet* is rather a Messenger

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ger of a Faction of Subiects, then a proper Embassadour of the Supreme power, and therefore he must not claim the right of an Embassadour: It's the peculiar prerogative of Majesty, and Supreme Authority (saith *Dion. Hulicarn.*) to create Magistrates, to make Laws, to make Warre and Peace, and to send Embassadours.

Legates must not be received from *Antony*, for saith *Cicero*, *In that Case we have not to doe with* Hannibal, *an enemy of the Common-wealth, but with one of our own Country.* Nobly doth the Generall imprison him, who brought along with him the face of a Faction, and the authority of Rebels; who would have honoured him, *Si senatus faciem secum attulerat, auctoritatem reip.* Cic. Philip. 7.

Sect. He models his Army.

And then his Excellency feeling the temper of his Army, upon Collonell *Cobbets* Message (according to the power given him, when he was made Commissioner for governing of the Army, with Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Collonell *Walton*, Collonell *Morley*, Collonell *Okey*, &c. by the Parliament, just before their dissolution) he

he models it, and secures such Officers (as he found, either too loosely principled, or already too dangerously engaged, to be entrusted in so honourable an expedition as he resolved upon;) in *Tantillon* Castle first, and since in the *Basse* Islands, so confining their principles and persons within those walls, which otherwise might have too sad an influence upon that whole Army and Nation.

Sect. He declares.

And then thinks fit to declare his resolution, to assert the authority of Parliaments against all violence whatsoever, in two Remonstrances, one to the whole Nation, and the other to the Churches.

Whereupon the English Officers bethink themselves of a Declaration too; 'wherein supposing the end of Government to 'be the publick good, they must perswade 'the world that they are the onely promoters of that in the world: *In melle sunt linguæ fita vestra, atque orationes latte; corda felle sunt fita, atque acerbo aceto e linguis dicta dulcia datis, ut corde amara faciis.*

Prot

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Pretence white as milk,
And as soft as silk,
Will do the feat;
Your hearts as sowre as gall
Purpose our thrall,
And thus ye cheat.

'They ravish us with apprehensions of li-
'berty, while they enthrall us with oppres-
'sion; and as their usuall manner is, they
'bespatter the Parliament with their foul-
'est ink, making (according to an ordi-
'nary figure in Policy) every infirmity a
'fault, and every fault a crime: yea, they
were almost ready to swallow that grosse
abuse; τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ
πράγματα μετὰ φερεῖν, *Isocrates, of making the Office guilty of the Officers abuse.*

And withall they declare the necessity of their proceedings; they thus make a virtue of necessity, seeing no other virtue will be so easily induced to serve their proceedings; and she may well be the *patron* of all *licentiousness*, who her self hath *no law.*

They declare the necessity of continuing the cashiered Officers in power, which is a necessity onely of their own creating, and

and signifies no more, but that they are compelled to cover wrong with wrong; as if it were not enough to have done mischief with an Army, but we must continue that Army to defend and justifie it: Their πρῶτον ψῦδος is, *That his Majesty must be kept out of his just rights, and that the Nation be deprived of their Laws, Liberties, Religion, &c.* And thence it follows, as a Conclusion becoming that Premise, that it's necessary our Army be commanded by Persons, that are the worst Rebels against the one, and the greatest Violators of the other: ἑνὸς ἀτόπου δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀνάγκαιον ἐστι συμβαίνειν.

Sect. The efficacy of his Declaration.

But his Excellencies rationall Declaration (which he published to give the world the same satisfaction, for his undertakings, that he had already in his own breast, scorning the ἀνομία of πολέμου ἀκήρυκτον ἐπάγειν *Ioseph. An.* 15. *Crantz. Saxon.* 11. *Nicet. l.* 3. & 4. and willing to provide *honest things, even in the sight of men*) out-weighed their Pamphlet with the Judicious; because they saw in his few words; (for he, with *Stenelaidos* the *Ephor, would not stand debating with words,*

 being

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being injured above words) that he asserted Authority, the ligament of humane society, against Violence and Rebellion; he asserted the true publique, instead of a private good; he stood for liberty against licentiousnes and oppression: In a word, because they saw him expressing himself throughout like a Person of *worth and honour*.

Messengers sent to him.

After this ψευδος of the Armies Declaration, they send two more Messengers to his Excellency, his dear Brother in Law, Doctor *Clerges*, and another, to satisfie him more fully of their proceedings; for his Excellency, as if he wanted nothing else all this while but good intelligence, writes them an ambiguous Letter, intimating, that he might comply with them better if he had but the happinos to understand them. Indeed it was but prudence, to suspend all expressions that might make them despair of his compliance with them, untill he were ready to appear against them.

Sect.

And these are followed by *Whaley* and *Goffe*, *Caryl* and *Barker*, as Messengers from the

the Churches, who had a Bird for every Conquerour: Its the boast of a *Dutchman*, that he can sail with all winds; the Compass breaths not more varieties then these dexterous souls have changes, and garbs, and suitable compliances. 'Its the 'perfection of an Oratour, to make happy 'applications to the severall humours and 'geniusses of all sorts of men: That's the character of these Church-men; these Independent Willows are pliant to the poor power of a contemptible Committee of Safty; as *Alcibiades* shifted disposition as he altered place, so they proportion themselves to time place, person, religion, with such a plausibleness, as if they had been born onely to serve that Opinion, which they harboured but as a guesse, while it continued in sway.

He calls an Honorable convention of Nobility and Gentry at *Edenborough*.

In the mean time his Excellency (being by *a call* (as he expressed himself to the Convention) *from God and man*, engaged for *England*, to restore the Parliament to their due freedome and honour) assembles the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* at *Edenburgh*; to whom he proposed:

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Sect. His propositions to them, with there Answer and his Reply.

1. That they would secure the peace of that Nation during his absence, which would not be long.

2. That they would supply him with some men for this undertaking, which he engaged upon his Honour should be to their satisfaction.

3. That they would advance what money they could beforehand.

And hearing by the Earl of *Glencarne*, the Chair-man of that Assembly, that

1. The Scots were, since their being disarmed, uncapable of keeping the peace.

2. That they were so unconcerned in the issue of his undertakings, that they saw no reason they should engage with him.

3. That they would advance a yeares tax before-hand.

1. He gives the Lords and Gentry power to arm themselves.

2. He satisfieth them privately in the design of his expedition.

3. And accepts of their yeares tax (O rare) before-hand; that being what he *first intended*, though what he *last proposed*.

And

And thereupon he dismisseth the Assembly, which he would not have called together but in a case of necessity, which makes any thing lawfull; it being one of the *Regalia* (as *G. Tholes* hath it) to call Assemblies.

And then he resolves to stay no longer then his supplies of men and money come in: In the mean time he encourageth Sir *Charles Coote*, the Lord *Brohill*, &c. to take this opportunity to reduce *Ireland*, with it's sectarian Governours (the first poysenous Creatures that ever came over thither) according to their design layed before any thoughts of the dissolution of this Long Parliament; but he advised them to proceed leisurely, and by piece-meal, for that, which at one view would be a *mormo* to fright them, give it them but in part, and it would please them: *All great mutations* (saith the noble *Falkland*) *are dangerous, even where what is introduced by that mutation is such, as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation.*

Sect. His prudent management of a Treaty.

Yet hearing that *Lambert* was coming against him with thirteen thousand men,

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(resolved *pro regno patriam penates, conjugem flammis dare*) indeed *Imperia pretio quolibet constat bene*, according to the advice of an high-spirited Fury) he (with that King in the Parable) sits down and considers with himself, whether with his seven thousand men (which was all he could bring to the field from his Garrisons, the Highlands, and the new supplies) was able to enter battell with his enemy, that leadeth thirteen thousand; and finding himself too weak, before the enemy enters his Territories, he sends Messengers of peace, he thinking of the unexpected Accidents before he did engage, *Thucydides* adviseth, was loth to hazard the justice of his Cause upon the chances of a battell; we, may quit something of our own right to avoid pursuing it, with so much hurt to other men as Warre carrieth along with it; *Vitt. de jure bel. n.* 14. *&* 33. *Arist. Polit.* 4. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 3. *Paus. l.* 5. *Philost. l.* 23. *Sen. suas* 5. Yet withall he provides for Warre; being (as *Ioseph.* 2. *Cont. Appian*) *To preserve the Laws; other losses he could bear patiently, but when he is forced to depart from the Laws, then he will fight even beyond his strength, and*

and endure all extremitie of Warre.

He sends three to treat with those at *Wallingford, viz.* Collonell *Wylkes*, Lieutenant Collonell *Clobery*, and Major *Knight*, with letters to Gen. *Fleetwood*, 'intima-'ting his readiness to comply upon reaso-'nable terms with his old friends and fel-'low souldiers; and his sorrow for the ad-'vantages which were given the common 'enemy, by this unseasonable distance of 'friends.

Sect. His Letters to the City.

But withall he sends letters to the City, 'to encourage them to stand fast in their 'Liberty, for their Laws, Priviledges, Pro-'perties, and lawfull Government; for which he there expressed himself ready to live and die: which letters were delivered by Collonell *Alured*, and Collonell *Markham*; but by reason of the conclusion the fore-mentioned Treaters came to, so contrary to the contents of those letters, they were a while under *Cassandraes* fate, of not being believed, though they brought in them the highest truths imaginable, as time *the father of truth* hath since made manifest.

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Sect. The Treaty is concluded in an agreement upon theſe termes:

1. That his Majeſties Title be renounced.
2. That *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, be governed as a free State, without any ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Peers.
3. That an able and a godly Miniſtry be encouraged, and the Univerſities regulated.
4. That the Army be not disbanded without its own conſent.
5. That there be a meeting of three from *Scotland*, three from *Ireland*, and three from *England*, not Officers of the Army, and five from *Scotland*, and five from *Ireland*, and five from *England*, Officers of the Army, to conſult about a further ſettlement.

Sect. But his Excellency had diſcreetly reſerved to himſelf the ratification of the Treaty, ſo that nothing ſhould be of force untill he confirmed it with his own Seal; and therefore upon the return of his Commiſſioners by his own order, he (impriſoning Collonell *Wylkes* for going beyond his Com-

Commiſſion) declareth the Treaty void, and marcheth towards the Borders, intending to make *Berwick*, which he had ſecured at firſt, his Head-quarters; holding correſpondence with his friends all over *England*, eſpeciall in the Weſt, as the information Collonell *Cobbet* gave his friends at *Wallingford* Houſe intimated.

At *Berwick* he gave the Meſſengers of the Army, and of the Churches, very plauſible anſwers, which yet ſignified nothing, receiving and diſmiſſing them with great reſpect; but yeilding to them nothing prejudiciall to his cauſe; ſo that one of the Miniſters, upon his return home, muſt needs tell his Congregation, *That the ſeed of the Serpent is irreconcileable with the ſeed of the woman.* Sect.

Fabius ſaved *Rome* by a delay; his Excellency being adviſed from *England*, That if he could keep at diſtance with his Adverſary untill the firſt of *January*, the work would be done without bloud-ſhed; make ſome overtures of peace with *Lambert*, but alwayes inſiſting upon the re-admiſſion of the Parliament to the exerciſe of Sect. Overtures towards a ſecond treaty, with the grounds of it.

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of their truſt, to be granted before they enter upon any Treaty.

Sect. Now ſome Commiſſioners for the Parliament, *viz. Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, having gained *Portſmouth* with the conſent of Collonell *Whetham*, formerly of the Counſell of *Scotland*, whereof his Excellency was Preſident; and *Lawſon* (notwithſtanding all endeavours by that Syren *Vane*, to perſwade him to the contrary) declaring with the Navy for the Parliament; and the Land forces for want of pay revolting; the Army in the North mouldereth away, and yieldeth to time and delay.

Sect. He moveth to *England* with his whole Army. Thus all force being removed from the Parliament, and they ſitting, thought themſelves not ſafe untill he by his authority and preſence came to awe the Soldiery and the tumults, that want nothing but an Head to lead them to another Rebellion.

Sect. His prudent management of affairs throughout his progreſs to a ſubſerviency to his deſign. His Excellency (whom former Powers could not draw from *Scotland* with either fear or favour) takes this opportunity to

do

do his Countrey and King a publick right: And ſo (though ordered to bring with him onely three hundred men, and diſpoſe the reſt for quarters) he marcheth with his whole Army, modelling ſuch Garriſons and Forces as he met with to a poſture ſubſervient to his deſign, intruſting them with men faithfull to his and the Nations Intereſt, *which were now no more two but one:* and commending the care of *Scotland* to Major Generall *Morgan*, a Perſon very induſtrious in aſſiſting his Excellency, going to him in his greateſt extremity from *London*, to encourage him and his Army to a reſolution in thoſe deſignes, that were as great as they were good, he marcheth with his own Army, which he knew was tryed and faithfull: whereas the other Forces (*an aire dato conductæ cohors bellica, miles dona ſequens pretioque ſuum mutare favorem ſuetus, & accepto pariter cum munere bello, hunc habuiſſe dator pretii quem juſſerit, hoſtem, Bell. de re mil. 2. p. t. 2. n. 4.*) would upon the leaſt temptation (as he told the Parliament) betray both himſelf and them too.

And in his way finds the Honourable Lord

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His conference with the Lord *Fairfax* in his way to *York-shire*. Sect.

Lord *Fairfax*, with Sir *H. Cholmely*, &c. in Armes against free Quarter, and for a free Parliament, with whom he had private conference, to each parties satisfaction.

Here he receives a Message from the City by the Sword-bearer; to which he returns this Answer.

1. That he was resolved for the Parliament as it was on the 11. of *Octob.* last.

2. And yet when he came to the City (which he said would be shortly) he assures them he would satisfie their expectation.

Thus at once he keeps himself to his own Commission, owns the onely face of Authority then in being, under whose Authority he might act safely, & yet privately manageth things according to his own principles and thoughts: So inferiour Orbes suffer themselves to be swayed by the motion of the superiour, while yet they steal a motion of their own: The Parliament serve the Publick for themselves; His Excellency will serve them for the Publick; 'Being inviolably constant 'to his Principles of Virtue and religious 'Prudence; his Ends are noble, and the 'meanes

'meanes he useth innocent: His Worth 'had led him to the Helm of our State: 'The Rudder he useth is an honest and vi- 'gorous Wisdome: The Starre he looks 'on, for direction is in Heaven; and the 'Port he aimes at, is the joynt welfare 'of Prince and People.

Sect.

He is caressed by the whole Country but not understood.

And then he proceeds towards *London*, being courted by the Countries as he passed, as the Patron of Authority, Law, Liberty, and Property, (his Expedition looking like a Kings Progress rather then a Souldiers March) and addressed to by the most considerable Gentry, to use his interest in restoring them to their Birthrights, their Laws, their Priviledges, and a full and a free Parliament; whose desires if he had satisfied, he had utterly disappointed; for to have discovered himself, had been to defeat the hope of the whole Nation: *Veritatem voluit celari non mendacium dici*, *Aug. q* 20. *in Gen.* And therefore he usually answered them, that he would see 1. All force removed from the Parliament. 2. The House filled. 3. See that there be good provision made for future Parliaments: And so he kept him-

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himself dark to his Adversaries and his common Friends, though he was light to himself, his Prince, and his discreeter Friends, *Quibus pro sermone nutus motusque membrorum est; uti, Plin. de Æthiopum Gente l. 6. 30.* ἄπατα μὲν, ἀπατεκὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ *Arist. Nu. 4. c. 8. Incerta disseruit, tracturus interpretationem, pro ut conduxisset, Tacit. Hist. 3.* He gave answers doubtfull and inclining whither they were drawn: *Manass. Ben. Iser. Concil. q. 39.* Notwithstanding there were two sent of purpose to watch him *Scot* and *Robinson*, who returned as wise as they came: His Excellency dropped never a syllable that Suspition it self could be afraid of, all the while they were with him; every word he let fall was the well-weighed issue of Judgement and Reason, that did signifie, but not betray his mind: His expressions were Oracles, as well for their clear worth to his discerning Friends, as for their dark doubtfulness to his preying Enemies, So Christ himself spoke to his Enemies in Parables.

Sect. He conceales his

About this time his Excellency saw how dangerous it had been for him to de-

resentment of the Par. hard usage to those that made address to him

clare

clare for the Nations right, when it was high misdemeanour but humbly to wish for it; when groans for grievances, as once at *Rome*, were dangerous, and complaints were treason; when men are imprisoned for what Nature, Reason and Law hath declared to be the right of man, and our Parliament declared to be the right of English men; I mean, *An humble Petition for Right.* He saw Sir *Coppleston Bampfield* for *Exeter*, and Sir *Robert Pye* for *Berk-shire*, without any respect at all to the Countries whence they came, the Message they carried, or the Honourable Person to whom they were imployed, confined to the Tower; and yet he having, with that Earl of *Leicester*, his passions in his pocket, looks upon them with an unconcerned eye, and takes no care for the liberty of few imprisoned persons, least he should lose the opportunity of redeeming an enslaved Nation.

Sect. How he controls his Souldiers.

His Excellencies march to *England* was slow & orderly: So first taking time to observe the posture, genius, and inclination of the Kingdome. Secondly, and keeping his Souldiers close to himself, ready for

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for any occasion, and in order; fobidding all private meeting of Officers for consultations about State Affairs; assuring them; that he and they were rather to obey Powers, then to controul them: and that every person should be so long in Command under him, as they were in obedience under Authority.

Sect. A Letter to Mr. *Roll* in his name.

In his March he takes occasion to answer a Declaration of the Western Gentlemen, that run too high at that time to be complied with, and yet was too just and equall to be neglected: Wherein he published expressions, that like a well-framed picture, look'd smilingly upon all sides; especially let the honest part of the Nation see a Grant of their whole wishes through a denyall: 'For (said he) the 'Nation could not be settled without a 'Civill Warre, unless the severall interests '1. Of such new Sects (as *Presbyterians*, '*Independents*, *Anabaptists*) never known 'here before the Warres. 2. Of such 'new Factions, as the purchasers of Kings, 'Queens, and Bishops Lands, were provi-'ded for by such a comprehensive settle-'ment as might include all sides: (δεῖ δὲ

δεῖ δὲ τὸν νομοθέτην τοὺς μέσους προσλαμβάνειν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, *Aristot. Eth. 6. Quod commune est, connectit civitates, quod singulorum dissipat, quare & publice & privatim utilius est ut publica magis quam privata curentur. Plato 4. legum*; a Law is to be profitable (saith *Cato L.* τὸ γὰρ *D. de leg. l. 3. in fine D.D. petit hæred*) to the greater part and the main: *Semper non quod privatim interest, uni ex sociis servari debet, sed quod communi societati expedit L. actiones sect. Labeo D. Soc.* That is good for the Bee that is good for the Hive (*Antoninus*) and therefore Monarchy in the State which a free Parliament would introduce being so inconsistent with the later sort of mens interest, and Monarchy in the Church which is the necessary attendant of State Monarchy (for no Bishop no King) "they being so inconsistent "with the interest of the former sort of "men was not the best way of establi-"shing these Nations: Whereby he gave "us to understand rather what he thought "expedient, then what he thought lawful; "intimating withall to the discreet and "wise, that those things were his as well as the Nations designe, but it was not yet time to accomplish them.

D As

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As soon as time and prudence had conquered all remaining difficulties, he could be as much for a free Parliament, and the happy issues of it as themselves. In the meane time, though his Loyalty prompted him to serve his Majesty, and his Countrey; yet his Prudence taught him not to engage against Impossibilities: In a word, he lets not fall one word in that Letter, that seemed to deny that any of those things therein mentioned were lawfull, though hee dropped some that signified that all those things were not *Then expedient*.

Sect. His honorable Ladies arrivall at *London*.

When a long and tedious March, with the Prayers and Wishes of the whole Nation, had brought his Excellency to Saint *Albanes*, his honourable Lady borne to succour afflicted Loyalty and Majesty was arrived at *Whitehall*: Our *Venus* being brought by Water to meete her *Mars* by Land, how seasonably is shee arrived to give heat and life to his cooler thoughts, and to spirit his grave and slow designes into accomplishment! he sayd the King should *Come*, but she sayd *Now*: Her eager Passions, those Whet-stones of vertue

tue (*Cic. Acad. 9. l. 4. Tusc. 9. l. 4.*) Set him on to a performance, when his cautious Wisdome checked him to a Retreat, *A furiis agitatus amor*, *A sacred fury of Love*: πάντος ὑποκειρητής, *Cæl. Rhodig. l. 16 c. 15. Raising her wishes above all thoughts of difficulties*, suggested to her expedition: but he remembring that οὐ δυνάμενοι κρίνειν ἐν πάθει ὄντες *Arist. Poli. 3. c. 16.* That Passions are not fit to conclude of Enterprize, Methinks answers her Importunate Loyalty: As *Latinia* doth *Turnus*,

— Quantum ipsa feroci
Virtute exupero, tanto me impensius æquum est
Consulere, atque omnes metuentem expendere casus

The more undaunted Courage doth you move
Its fit my serious feares shew the more Love
In mature Counsells, and in weighing all
The various dangers, and Event may fall.

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The impatient Lady was so intensively fixed on restored Majesty, that shee seemed to decay with a lingring Expectation to enjoy it, ὡς τῶτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ (ὑν δαίμονι τάκω ὡς τακοίθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος, *Theocrit. Idyl.* 2.) she hardly rested night or day from some eminent service for her Soveraign, he took up her thoughts, her discourse, insomuch that her hopefull Son, when checked by some Gentlemen for an often mention of the King, replyed pretily, *I am sure my Father and Mother talke of him every night*: When the honourable City drooped under a fear of the Issue of the late doubtfull expedition of his Excellency, she *speakes* them to a Life and Resolution with these words: *Did you (Gentlemen) understand Generall* Monck *as well as I do, you might trust him.*

He lodgeth at *White-Hall.*

When he had stayed there some days to refresh his Army to consult with his Officers, and to look about him for the setlement of every thing in its place, in a subserviency to his designe, He marcheth to *London*, and refuseth not the accommodations offered him at *Whitehall*, as some thought he would; being too wary to open himselfe, when he had the opportunity to hide himselfe by an acceptance of a curtesie.

Sect. He gives account of his expedition to the House.

At *Westminster* (when he had indulged himselfe some time for the imbraces of his dearest Consort, that deserved his first and dearest Affections) he attends the House solemnly according to their Order, conducted by *Scot* and *Robinson* on each side of him, who was a virtue to each extreame, and modestly refused the Chaire that was offered him, now as above himselfe in Humility, as he was above others in worth: *They with most Regret and Tenderness receive Honours that most deserve them.*

Sect. His deportment and speech.

Leaning on the back of the Chaire, provided for him, he delivered himselfe in a choice, pure, breife, clear, vigorous Expression of the great Notions in his mind to this purpose. 1. "That he deserved "no Thanks, having done no more then "his Duty: *He is lesse willing to hear Commendations, that hath done most worthy of them*: though he had attempted great things resolutely and valiantly, he heared Applauses and Elogies for them, by so much

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much the more tenderly, by how much they were more juſtly due.

2. He turned their Thanks, Applauſes, and Commendations from himſelf the *Inſtrument* in their Reſtauration to God the *Author*: *Accipio, agnoſcoque, Deos*, Virg. Æn. 12. ——εἰ τις θεῶν.

Βλάπτει, φύγοτ' ἂν ὁ κρείσσων ἢ κρείσσονα.

——*If God will fight* Soph. Aj. Ezek. 3. He can make the weak men put the ſtrong to flight,

ἐκ Θεῦ, διὰ Θεῦ, εἰς Θεὸν πάντα· *Anton.* By God, and therefore to God are all things, *Rom.* 11. *Ult.* But knowing that it is, μιαιφονεῖν κυριώτατα ταῦτα δρᾶν ἅπερ ἄγεται πρὸς Θεῶν. *Clem. Alex. Strom. l.* 7. *Sen. Ep.* 95. *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 25. Its not the mentioning ſo much as the improving of mercies, which expreſſeth our thankfulneſs to God, *Ovid. Æſchyr. Apud Plut. de audit. Poet. A. Gel. l.* 1. *c.* 15. *Tertul. de Patria, c.* 1. Therefore he humbly deſired the Parliament to ſatisfie the Expectation of the Nation, in the eſtabliſhment of their Laws Liberties,

Liberties, *&c.* Upon this their wonderfull Reſtauration; God had beene at the charges (as I may ſo ſpeak) of ſo many wonders from above, nor his Excellency of ſo much care and paines below to reſtore them, not ſo much that they ſhould ſeek *Their* own, as the publick good.

3. He deſired them particularly to take off the Suſpition men had of their perpetuity, by determining their own Seſſions, and providing for future Parliaments (A conſtitution *ſi vetuſtatem ſpectes vetuſtiſſima, ſi dignitatem honoratiſſima, ſi juriſdictionem Copioſiſſima*) Where the Nation by its ſeverall Repreſentatives might gravely, deliberately, and ſafely conſult its own peace and ſetlement. The Major part as *Grotius* ſaith in his *Hyl. Gothi...*) prevailing over the minor "*Otherwiſe theres no hope of Peace: Where there are multitudes of Counſellers there is ſafety.*

4. Then he commended to them a moderation in their qualification, intimating, *That it would be their Prudence not to narrow but widen their Intereſt*: Withal, telling them, the noble Gentry were ſo ingenuous, That faire meanes would bring to that compliance, when hard uſage would deterre

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terre them: Engliſh ſpirits muſt not be force dbut won by an acquieſcence, they are not to be ſubdued but with kindneſs.

5. He wiſheth them to be tender in impoſing Oathes (though yet he thought none were to be admitted to any truſt in *England*, as none ever was without an Ingagement to be faithfull to the Power in Being.) In all Governments Fundamentalls are ſecured by ſtanding Lawes, obliging all to a faithfullneſſe and conſtancy to them, when the ſuperſtructures are capable of alterations by the growing Wiſdome of ſucceeding Ages, and Powers) He was ſenſible of the abuſe of Gods Name in our frequent Oathes: *En toutes manieres ſa eſte un fort belle Ordinance & inſtitution, de en' uſer point du nom des dieux legerement de peur de les Contaminer, Car la Majeſte des dieux ne ſe doit Imployer, qu' en un ſainct, & Venerable purete.* Its wiſely ordained that the Names of the Gods ſhould not be uſed upon trifling occaſions: for the Majeſty of the Gods ſhould not be imployed but in holy and venerable purity. *Malvezzi* on *Philoſtratus. Caſaub. Exercit.* 202. 2, Of the abuſe of force whence, ὅρκος ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴργω

εἴργω ὅτι εἴργει ἢ ἐρκύθριον. *Scholl. in Ariſtoph.* Untill men have uſed them ſo commonly, that they can ſhake off their Cords with as much eaſe as *Sampſon* did his Withs, and breake over theſe Hedges of Faithfullneſſe when they pleaſe: Though *Vt Maſora ſepes, legi decimæ divitiis, vota ſanctimoniæ, ſilentium ſapientiæ, ſacramenta fidelitatis, Pirke Aboth* As the *Maſora* Hedges in the Law, Tythes Hedge in Riches, ſo Oathes kept in faithfullneſs, ſo reſtraining and bounding our hearts that are as unſtable as Water, whoſe propriety is to be τὸ ἀόριστον ὑγρὸν ὄρῳ *Ariſt. Gen.* 5. *Corrept. l.* 2. *c.* 2. to be apt to ſhed abroad when left to it ſelf: but alaſs! His Excellency, ſince men make too much uſe of that piece of *Lyſander* τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις δεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ὅρκοις, that Children are to be coſened with Rattles and men with oathes: with whom *pactum non pactum eſt, non pactum pactum eſt cum illis Lubet, Paul. Aul.* An oath ſhall no oath be, if they no advantage ſee: but an oath, an oath ſhall be if it with their deſignes agree they were ſo good at that of *Euripides*, *Iurata lingua eſt, mente juravi nihil*, that his Excellency thought

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thought fit to put the Parliament in mind that they had more need to repent of their former oathes then to take new.

6. He warnes them to take heed of admitting Cavaleers and Phanatiques into places of any imployment or truſt: doing the Cavaleers no injury, for they could not have worſe thoughts of them then they had, but ſecretly weakning the Parliament, by rendring their friends the Phanatiques odious to them, and ſo uſeleſs and unſervicable: when he ſeemed to diſcharge Cavaleers from imployment, he meant thoſe whoſe actions had been more ſerviceable to their enemies then their friends, whoſe raſh and unadviſed zeal had done more harm than their Loyalty was ever like to do good; for thoſe ſober perſons that were in a mean between madneſs and Ænthuſiaſme, were ſuch as we have ſeen manage their moderate Councils in two Moneths, with more ſucceſs on his Majeſties behalf then others have managed their valour in twenty years.

7. He commends to them *Scotland*, as a Nation that indeed had of late deſerved to be encouraged, and aſſures them of *Ireland*, with the perſons in whoſe hands that Nation was. He

8. He commends to them a Free State, for he would gladly lay down his life; but he knew well that *Nunquam libertas gratior extat quam ſub rege pio*, That it is the higheſt freedome a State can hope for, to ſerve a good Prince.

Sect. The Parliament imploy him to the City.

And then he withdraws to his place in the Council of State where the firſt thing under conſideration was the reducing of the City, now ſtiffly reſolved to own no power ſave that of a Free and full Parliament, where he ſaw that that Parliament and Council of State were neer a period: by thoſe ſtrong attempts they made to keep themſelves alive, (*Morientium morſus acerrimus*, the laſt endeavour of the dying is moſt vigorous) for they order,

1. That he ſhould march into the City with ſo many Horſe and Foot, to force them to an obedience to the Act of Aſſeſſment: *Its the guiſe of men in power to act themſelves in the plauſible part of their Government, leaving the more offenſive paſſages to their inſtruments.* His Excellency coming up to the City, at *Guild-Hall* peremptorily demands the Aſſeſſement, by an order from the Parliament and the Council of State, to which demand proceeding

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ding from him beyond expectation, the City after a little respit for extasy and amazement, return this answer, *In* Magna Charta *confirmed by the Petition of Right, and renewed by this present Parliament, a day before their forcible dissolution upon the* 11. *of Octob. they were to pay no Taxes, &c. but by their consent in Parliament; which now they had not*: Yet to give no offence to the Parliament, the Council of State, or his Excellency, desire time to consider of it: and indeed those debates upon which depended the welfare of the Nation, with its Liberties, priveledges, and properties called for time and leisure.

His Excellency in the mean time writes to the House to know their pleasure, to which they answer that

1. *He should imprison the Honourable Col.* Bromfield, *Alder.* Bludworth, *L. C.* Jackson, *Ma or* Cox, &c.

2. *That he should remove their Chaines, digge up their posts and break their Gates.*

Which strange orders were sent not only to try his Excellencys patience and obedience, but to make that emnity open which was but suspected between him and the City; so did *Achitophel* advise *Absolom*

lom to ravish his Fathers Concubines *before all Israel*, that Israel might be assured that he and his Father were enemies.

And his Excellency obeys them readily, thereby gaining an opportunity to discover the genius of the City, which he had not otherwise there known certainly to be so resolute for, and so true to Liberty and right.

But the Parliament as they intended, that by that imployment so offensive to the City, he should weaken his *Interest*; so they contrive that while he is busy in it he should be weakned in his power: His Commission for Generalship expiring, they renew it not according to his desert, but impower six more of themselves to be equal with him in command that never came neer him in merits, according to their interest, viz. *Hazlerig. Walton, Morley, &c.* which when his Army heared as they were not satisfied with their late imployment, so much less were they satisfied with this reward; the lessening of their Generals power when they might justly expect his advancement, and therefore being assured of the City, by a conference at the three Tunns at *Guild-Hall*, his Excellencies

Sect. They afterwards degrade him.

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His Officers Remonstrance thereupon.

lencies Head quarters, They humbly remonstrate, First, their sence of that violence they were commanded to offer the renowned City, a violence unparraleld in our worst of daies, which though they made havock of most part of the Nations, yet spared the ancient City, for its late performances too honourable, and for its antiquity too reverend to be so abused.

Secondly, their fear of several persons eminent in this late disturbance, who had their freedome within and without the City, to consult, plot, and design what might reduce us to our former misery.

Thirdly, their abhorrency of a late Petition delivered in the House by *Praise-God Barebone*, so subversive of all order and power, so dangerous to all Religion, worship, and discipline, so destructive to all Lawes, Statutes and Customes that to repeat it was to confute and condemne it, and all sober eyes have as soon abhorred it as seen it.

Fourthly, Their wish that the Parliament would quickly determine their session, and provide for succeeding Parliaments.

Sect. He adheres to the City

Which as soon as his Excellency had communicated to the Speaker by a Letter for a Free Parliament. he

he marched to *London* for quarters declaring for a Free Parliament, and calling himself upon the love, and faithfulnes of the City, and Countrey, that they might stand by him in the prosecution of publick good.

In which resolution he persisted, (notwithstanding, 1. The flatteries of the House, cajoling him with the Honour of *Hampton Court*, and his Brother the Honorable Sir *Th. Clergis*, with the *Hamper Office* which was worth a 1000 *l.* a year. 2. Their snares, into which (had it not been for his incomparable Lady, he might have been trappanned by a dinner, to which he was to be invited by the Council of State. 3. their threatnings expressed in *Haslerigs* Speeches, (that breathed nothing but fire and sword.) In the mean time taking his quarters among the Citizens, he expects patiently the issue of the Parliaments debates, in answer to his last Letters to them, and finding they thought of nothing but the setling of their own interest and continuing of their power; he desired the messengers they sent to treat with him, to delay time, to procure a conference between some Members of the House, and some

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He heardt the controverſie between the Secluded and the other Members.

ſome honourable patriots that were excluded from it, which was granted and had before him for mutual information, in which he judiciouſly weighed each ſides reaſons and arguments being all the while ſilent himſelf, and concluding with himſelf upon the reſult of the whole, that the ſettlement intended by the houſe was upon foundations too narrow to bear up a publike good: he reſolved to withdraw all force from the houſe, and admit men of more ſober, moderate, and therefore of a more publick ſpirit, who would eſtabliſh us upon termes comprehenſive of every conſiderable intereſt among us, making each part happy in the welfare of the whole; which he did upon the one and twentieth of *February*, *Creſſane careat pulchra dies nota*. 5. Meeting the Secluded Members at *White-hall*, and expreſſing himſelf to them in a ſpeech not delivered by himſelf to avoid offence, but by his Secretary; wherin he commended to their care.

He admits Secluded Members to the Houſe.

Sect. His ſpeech to them at White-Hal.

1. Religion that πρώτη ἀρετή, as *Ariſtol.* 7. that firſt care of Magiſtrates, it being in *Plato* and *Plutarch*, *Coagulum omnis ſocietatis & fundamentum*, and *efficaciſſimum vinculum benevolæ amicitiæ unius dei cultus*

Cultûs Philo: ſo great an awe hath Religion had alwaies upon the ſpirits of men, prevailed with by the thoughts of eternal weal and woe, that to ſettle it Βασιλικὸν ἀνθρώπου ἔργον ἦν. *Iuſt. Mart. Apol.* would be a royal work, which his Excellency propoſed in the moſt ſober and moderate way, imaginable between ſome mens too cloſe and ſevere rigor, which his Excellency had diſcountenanced in *Scotland*, and others too looſe indulgence which he checked by a publike diſlike of a Sermon preached before him at St. *Pauls* for that abomination that makes deſolate, I meane a *toleration* for every one to do *what is good in his own eyes*.

2. He commends to them the State; deſiring them to provide for a Free and full Parliament, in whoſe reſolves he himſelf and the whole Nation might acquieſs.

As ſoon as they ſit, they vote his Excellency according to agreement, *Lord General of all the Forces in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; which truſt he managed with much diſcretion and faithfulneſs, modelling his Army to a temper ſuitable with the deſignes he had in hand, diſarming the Phanatiques in City and Countrey, in the

Sect. He is Voted General.

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mean time taking care to arm Loyalty, while he layd the Factions naked.

Sect. He rejects all temptations to baseness.

Now to let the world see his Excellency had the best Souldiery, virtues, valour, and wisdome; without any of their vices, ambition, &c. He slights all temptations of Command, Power, and Authority, which were offered him, and resolves rather to be a Loyal Subject, then an usurping Soveraign: he had rather have *obsequii gloriam* (as *Tacitus* calls it) the Glory of Obedience, then the Majesty of command.

Sect.

The Parliament having setled the City in its just power, by Mayor, Aldermen, and an honourable Common-Council, and an incomparable Militia, under as worthy Commanders as ever led English men to the field: and vacated the Phanatique power in the Countrey, and setled the Militia of the three Countries in honourable and great hands, of men of worth, and interest, and provided for the future Parliament, they dissolve upon the 16. of *March*, leaving the care of the Nation to an incomparable Council of State, and the care of the Army to his Excellency, as Commander in chief, and Major General of the City, and the care of the Navy to his Excellency, and the

the Honourable Lord *Mountague*.

Sect. His Excellency entertained in *London*.

His Excellency in this interval condescends to the divertisements of several entertainments by most Companies in *London*. The Honourable society of the Mercers beginning; but in the middest of pastimes and pleasures his great and solid mind (as invincible by these soft, as formerly by his harder services), forgets not the greater affairs of State.

Sect. His prudence in the interval of power.

And he keeps good correspondence with his Army by frequent conferences: at last he brought them to declare their acquiescence in the resolves of the approaching Parliament, to the confusion of such whose hope lay wholly in their reluctancy against lawful power.

Sect.

When *Lamberts* escape had stirred up the drooping spirits of the factions to designes threatning and formidable; his Excellency first discreetly ordereth the Forces in the Countrey, so as to prevent their uniting in any considerable posture, and then Honourably offers his own person for the service of his King and Countrey: In the mean time taking care to settle the Militia of *London*, and *Westminster*, so as they

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might be able to guard themſelves if he ſhould be called abroad to engage againſt the Enemy.

Sect. He takes care likewiſe of Intelligence, well knowing of what concernment it is for a Nation to have an impartial relation of the actions of the ſupreme power.

Sect. The Parliament being ſate, whereof he was a Member both for *Devonſhire* and *Cambridge*, he carrieth himſelf there with that modeſty that might become the meaneſt Member, hardly ſo confident as to own the honour that honorable Houſe conferred upon him by their ſolemne thanks to him.

Sect. His modeſty. And would hardly accept the 20000. l. beſtowed upon him, until the Kingdomes account and ſtated, his Majeſties occaſion ſupplyed, his publike debts payed: ſo little did this publike minded *Worthy* care for his own things, and ſo much for the things of others.

Sect. He ſends his brother in Law to his Majeſty. When his Majeſties gracious Declaration and Letters came over, to give occaſion to modeſt Loyalty to diſcover himſelf, his Excellency having received the Declaration with a Letter to himſelf, (by the leave of

of the Houſe which he humbly asked) he ſends his Brother the Honourable Sir *Tho. Clergies* to attend his Majeſty, with his humble anſwer, wherein was incloſed a loyal addreſs from the Army, to let the world ſee how well a Generals command became him, who had modelled his Army to that temper, that there ſeemed to be but one ſoul controuling that whole great body, that expreſſed its allegiance to his Majeſty unanimouſly as one man.

Sect. When the Honourable Parliament, (each Member whereof deſerves an everlaſting monument) had upon that bleſſed 1. of *May* voted the Government by Kings, Lords, and Commons) a conſtitution to be admired and envied, but not imitated) and were preparing Commiſſioners to attend his Majeſty, to deſire him to come to his Parliament and People with all ſpeed poſſible.

His care to make all things ready againſt his Majeſties coming. His Excellency takes care for Pallaces to entertain him, his own incomparable Lady condeſcending to the drugery of a common maid for the ſervice of her Soveraign and then gives order for ſo many Regiments of Horſe to attend his Majeſty,

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taking great care, and giving many discreet orders for his Majesties security, providing with valour against open foes, and prudence against base friends, knowing his Majesty had good reason to pray with the Italian *God deliver me from my friends.*

Ἔχθεός μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν·
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει.
Hom. Il. 313.

Who have taken *Theogenis* wicked Counsel to his *Cyrnus.*

Εὖ κἀπίλλε· φίλον δ' οὔποτε δεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἀλιτρὸς ἐλθεῖν
κλῆζειν νῦν πειθοῖσιν μὴ ἐρεμνὸν ἔχειν θυμόν.
Vid. dom. vit. Agric. Tacit. Annal. l. 1.

Sect. His Excellency according to his Majesties order, waites upon his Majesty at *Dover* (being unwilling to Land before he came) with so much humility, as if he had not knowne any worth and merit in himselfe; and was received by his majesty as if he had knowne nothing in him but worth and desert: how Honorably doe the best of subjects and the best of Kings greet each other? how modestly doth the Subject kneel? how humbly doth the Soveraign kiss and embrace: its one property of love to condescend with a πόδος πὸς τὸν φίλον φιλοῖσιν αἱ θέσεις κακά. *Eurip. Hal.*

So

So Parents out of love to their Children lisp, and play, and fit their speech and dalliances to the age and infirmities of their children.

Sect. He meets his Majesty.

In that renoûned progress of his Majesty to *London* his Excellency had the honour to ride next before his Majesty, with the Illustrious Duke of *Buckingham* all the way to *London*, and with the Honourable Mayor through *London*: where the whole Nation saw him more Honourable in that he restored a soveraigne, then if he had been one more glorious in his Loyall Subjection then in an usurped majesty: his *bare head* was more honourable then others Crowns.

His tenderness of his Majesties prerogative.

When some careful of the Subjects liberty would have bounded his Majesties prerogative within the compass of the Lawes (it being a power not to be intrusted to frail flesh and blood to be above Law) and what was more have capitulared with him for his own right, and brought him to his Throne upon termes: his Excellency withstood the motion, scorning to fetch home a fettered Majesty, and to restore a captive Soveraignty: if he brought in a

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King, he would also bring in prerogative; and a *plenam potestatem*, 2. *Ed.* 4. 17. 21. H. 7 2. H. 7. 7. as it was in *principio rerum*, where *Gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat*, *Iust. l.* 1. See *R. B. Ios.* in *Mishput Aammelech*: and indeed prerogative cannot be intrusted to a mortal more capable of it than our Soveraign, who thinks it his highest power not to be able to do an injury; and his highest prerogative to take nothing from his Subjects but a liberty to offend, *Principi summum rerum arbitrium dij dederunt, subditis obsequij gloria relicta est*, and may it suffice us when we admit his Majesty to a Soveraignty over us, that we know, *Regem in ipsum imperium est Iovis*, God is Soveraign over him.

Sect. His care for justice.

It was thought his Excellency would intercede with his Majesty for a general pardon to all parties and persons, but his Excellencie perceiving his Majesties extraordinary inclination to mercies, thought fit rather to encourage him to do Justice.

1. That innocent blood may not be upon our heads or upon our posterities, such blood as may *overthrow* a world: Its a fearful thing to let a Nation fall into the hand

hand of the living, by a neglect to satisfie that justice which divine mercy will not defraud, and therefore humane mercy dares not.

Secondly that posterity may look upon their late villanies with horror when they see them punished with severity.

παραδεῖγμα τι τοῖς ἄλλοις γίνεσθαι, ἵνα ἄλλοι ὁρῶντες πάσχοντα ἂν πάσχοι φοβούμενοι βελτίους γίνωνται, *Plato apud A. Gel. l.* 6. *c.* 14. *Famosos publica furca figendos pluribus placuit ut conspectu deturreantur alii ab iisdem facinoribus F. de. pœnis L.* 28 *P. fumosos Pet. Erod. de cret. l.* 2. *Tit.* 14. *Zeppa. de leg. l.* 1. *c.* 11. *Plin. l.* 29. *c.* 4.

3. That compleat justice be done to all sufferers of the Clergy and Layty, righteousness establisheth a Nation, and the guilty must be as contented for the good of the Nation to *suffer* Justice, as the innocent may be to enjoy right.

But his Majesty and his Excellency hath taught the Nation *to sing of mercy and judgement* Ps. 101. 1. by their τῷ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις συγγινώσκειν ἐπίεικες, *Arist. Rhet. Iudex ut medicus syropos habet & aloen. R. maim. transl. p.* 63.

When

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Sect. When his Majesty had leisure for any thoughts of setling his Officers of state he began in his own family, (for as a Bishop so a King must rule well in his own family) for how saith St. *Paul, can he rule the Church that cannot rule his house*, and how saith *Aristotle Can he govern Kingdomes that governs not his own Court*: Indeed Kingship (saith *Selden, in his titles of honour*, *Weems exercitations* 3. Arist. Polit. 7. Rev. Bp. Will. in his *jura Majestatis*) was first exercised in the narrow compass of an household, and those increasing to Cities, Kings awhile contentedly possessed those Cities, and Cities swelling into Nations, we had our *Kings* of Nations. Whence his Excellency had the honour himself of being *Master of the Horse*, and to commend the incomparable Sir. *Will. Morris* (eminent in his Countrey for piety, prudence, publikemindedness, and valour for rejected truths, eminent in his worthy book called *Cæna quasi κοινὴ* for depth of judgement, solid and accute reason, sharp, quick, yet clear apprehension, for comprehensive reading, for a copious fancy, for a choice, grave, brief, perspicuous, pleasant, vigorous, and moderate-

moderately vehement expression, with a gratious frame of spirit running through each part, and the whole of it) for the first Secretary of state.

Sect. His Majesty well weighing *That in the multitude of Counsellors there is safety*, called his Excellency with his own high-borne Brothers *in suffering* as *well as nature*, the Honourable Marquesses of *Hartford*, of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, &c. to the Council Table, where there is no person that need go beyond him who first hath been present at all the subtile debates whereby the κοσμοκράτορες τῆς σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. *The Rulers of the darkness of this age* promoted their *mysteries of iniquity*.

2. Who hath managed the troublesome affairs of *Scotland* so succesfully for so many years.

3. Who had manifested so much prudence in his late expedition, that the King solemnly desired his sage advice for the settlement of his Kingdome.

Sect. But his Excellency conscious enough of the worth and ability of the most honourable Council is not so intent upon the affairs of state, as upon those of the field his own

pecu-

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peculiar charge, where his chief care was to model the Army to a frame subservient to his Majesties and the whole Nations interest; and well knowing that the whole Army is at the beck of superiour Officers as much as the lower Orbs & at the command of the first mover, he disposed of most commands to persons of honour, worth, and sound interest: His Majesty himself with his two Royal Brothers, honouring their respective Regiments with their command.

Sect. And now it may be expected that from this confluence of the highest worth, the most eminent virtues, the most renowned performances, the result must be the highest honour ἀρετὴ γὰρ πάντελῶς ἀξία τιμή· *Arist. de mor. l. 4. c. 7. Charron wisd. c. 7. Hall government l. 1. c. 5.* and therfore his Majesty was pleased to call his Excellency to the House of Peers as Duke of *Aumarle**, Earle of *Torrington*, Lord *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchamp*, &c. Knight of the most Honourable order of the Garter, &c. honours that others indeed have enjoyed, but his Excellency made it his chief business to *deserve*: and I hope as he hath attained this

*See *Heylin* Surv. France Seele blane French Nob.

this honour with *great actions*, he will maintain it with *greater* until he is gathered to his Fathers full of honor and of daies, until having seen 1. That Sacred Majesty which he was an instrument to restore, established above malice, envy, ambition, rebellion, faction, and treason, by a sage Council, well constituted Parliaments, a well disciplined Army, and Navy, well chosen Officers and Ministers of State.

Secondly the subject secured against all encroachments (by a Prince whose prerogative it is that *he cannot do wrong*) in their persons, estates, lives or liberties, through wholesome, mild, and good lawes, the Church established 1. Against all Heresy in the faith once delivered to the Saints against all schisme by the Primitive order, discipline and government.

3. Against all prophanesse, 1. By a worship in spirit and in truth, 2. decent, 3. in order. 4. to edification, 2. by the *power* of godlinesse) his daies be swallowed up of eternity, and his honour be exchanged for *An eternal weight of Glory.* See 39. Art. Rogers. Dr. Overal. Dr. Ellis, Bp. *Andr.* ibid.

FINIS.

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